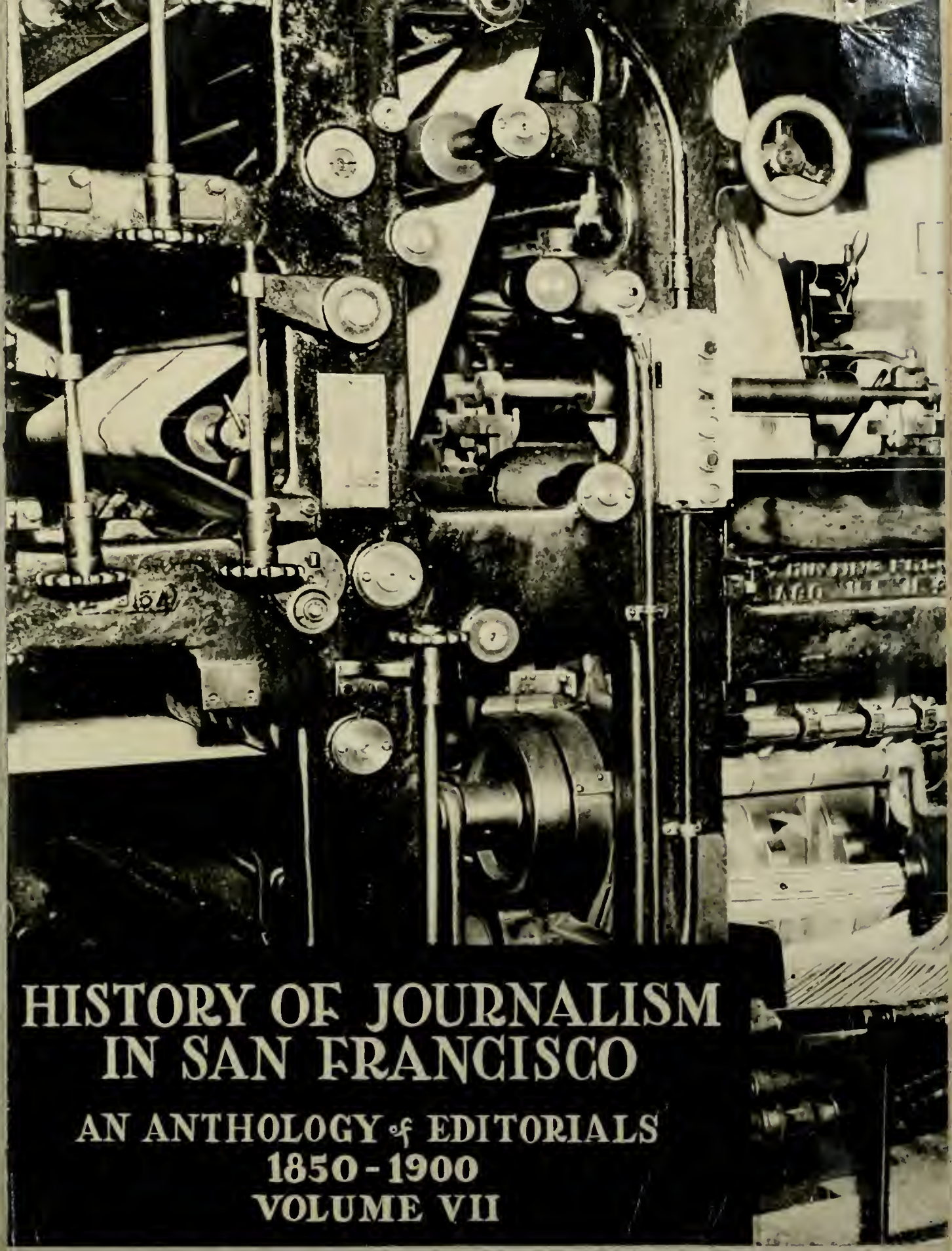
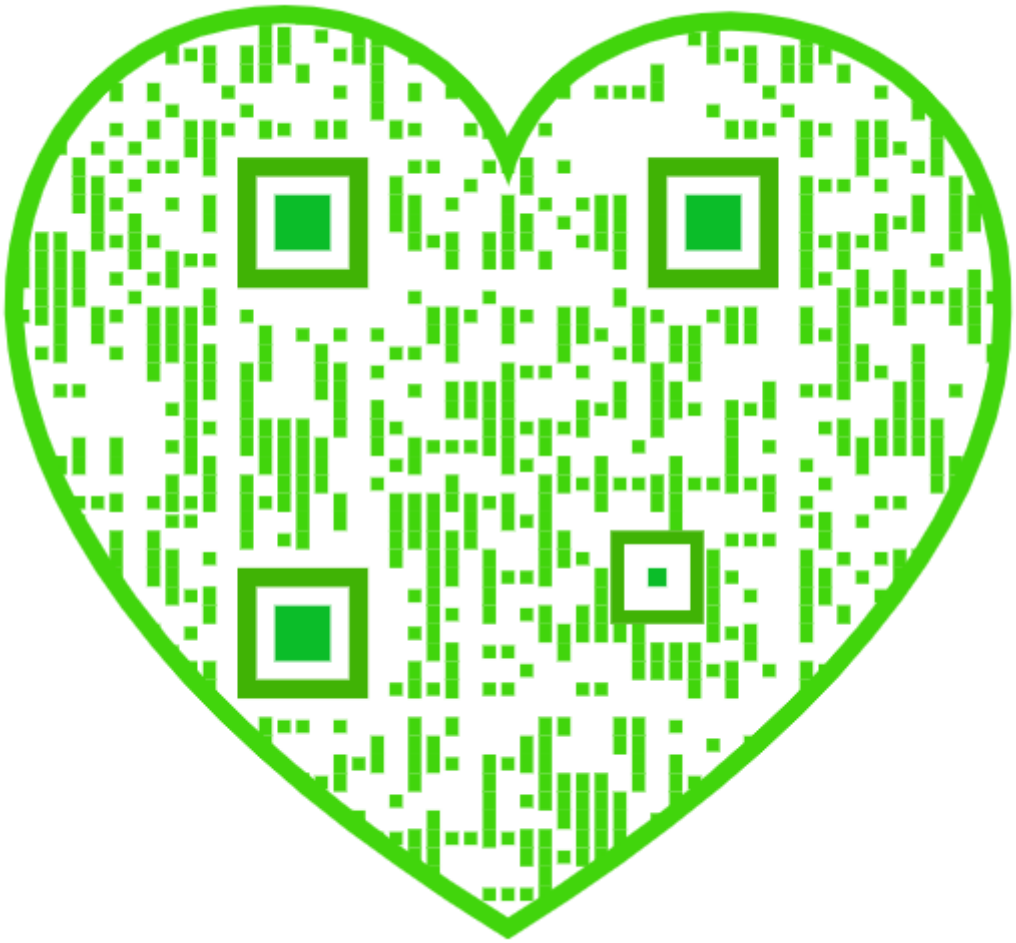


HISTORY OF JOURNALISM IN SAN FRANCISCO

AN ANTHOLOGY of EDITORIALS 1850-1900 VOLUME VII



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History of San Francisco Journalism, Volume VII

ANTHOLOGY OF EDITORIALS

Compiled by Workers of the Writers' Program
of the Work Projects Administration
in Northern California

Sponsored by the City and County of San Francisco

CALIFORNIA STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

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PREFACE

The present volume is the seventh in a series of monographs which tell the story of the development of Journalism in San Francisco -- a city whose reputation as a newspaper center has been a proud one for nearly a century. The first six volumes in the series were compiled under the supervision of Emerson Daggett by the History of Journalism Project, sponsored by the City and County of San Francisco, which has now become a unit of the Northern California Writers' Project. The remaining volumes will be compiled by this unit and will appear as mimeographed publications of the WPA Writers' Program. Like the other volumes in the series, they will be distributed to schools, universities, libraries, and other agencies for the use of teachers, students, historians, newspapermen, and others interested in journalism.

The present volume was compiled by Jean Morris and arranged by Jack Borlase under the direction of Emerson Daggett, Unit Supervisor, and Katherine Justice, District Supervisor in San Francisco.

Walter McElroy, State Supervisor
Northern California Writers' Project

INTRODUCTION

This book is intended to be a representative cross section of editorial thought in the San Francisco press from the time of its inception in the 1840's to the beginning of the twentieth century. It will serve as a source-book in early San Francisco editorial style and viewpoint. The editorials were selected on the basis of their interest and significance to the research worker who compiled them. They are arranged under six headings: Professional Competition, Social Consciousness, Corruption, Finance, Progress, and Miscellany. A seventh grouping, Wit and Humor, was withheld for expansion and later publication. Within these six classifications the material, in general, was arranged chronologically rather than by subject, because it was felt that otherwise the reader, if he attempted comparison of editorials on the same subject from different decades, might overlook their historical setting.

As much as possible, evaluation and criticism of the material has been avoided. Any attempt to evaluate the editorials without full consideration of the background in which

they were written and the social forces operating at the time would be unfair and unscholarly.

If the book finds a useful place in the reference libraries of working newspapermen, students of journalism, and perhaps collectors of San Franciscana, the work involved in its compilation will have been justified.

E. L. Daggett,
Unit Supervisor

PART I.

PROFESSIONAL COMPETITION

Call it what you will -- competition, rivalry, antagonism -- the fight for newspaper supremacy in San Francisco has been indelibly portrayed by the wordy belligerency of the city's newspaper editors. Occasionally the provocative issue is visible only through a labyrinth of caustic suggestion or biting innuendo; but more often, it fairly leaps from the page, unadorned, sizzling. Agreement was infrequent; and even when it was manifested editorially, insincerity or expediency seems to have occasioned the armistice.

On November 15, 1860, the Bulletin grouped two rivals on which to make a collective assault:

"CONTINUING TO STEAL

> "An evening journal called the Mirror has long been in the practice of copying the telegraphic dispatches of the Bulletin, Alta and Union, containing the Eastern and European news received by Pony Express, giving in acknowledgment a thankless, sneering expression of credit

> to the 'Associated Press,' or the 'Combination.' Yesterday it went a step farther, and stole the valuable and exclusive telegraphic news of the Presidential election in the Eastern States, from the 'extra' of the Bulletin, Alta and Union . . . here we have a self-styled 'associated press,' consisting of the Herald, Times, Mirror and some other papers -- 'dodging' the customary acknowledgment that their neighbor has fairly beaten them, while yet they steal that neighbor's news. . . ."

And that the "larceny" charged by the Bulletin was lasting is evidenced by the following editorial in the Alta California, more than a year later, April 14, 1862:

"AT ITS OLD TRICKS

> "The Herald and Mirror presented a very creditable appearance on Sunday morning, so far as telegraph news goes. It laid before its readers a full account of the late battle at Pittsburg Landing, but neglected to state that it took it all from the columns of the Alta. It not only republished the Extra which was issued from this office on Saturday night, but lay back till our regular edition was printed and appropriated the balance -- a feat which no

> newspaper but the Herald and Mirror can ever hope to accomplish -- for it takes time for the press to throw off even a few hundred copies. The journal in question, however, can afford to hold back till the Alta is issued, and then transfer its news to its own columns, for it circulates only among a select few. One would suppose that if the news was worth taking, the source from which it was derived was entitled to credit, but with the Herald and Mirror such little amenities of the profession have no weight. It sails under letters of marque."

On August 6, 1870, the Daily Evening Bulletin published the following criticism of the Chronicle:

> "RASCALITY WITHOUT DIVIDENDS
>
> "The Chronicle of this city, having at no time attained to the standing of a responsible newspaper, and the prospect being now more remote now than at any former time, that it can ever escape the taint of unmitigated dishonesty, we have refrained from noticing it. . . . But as that paper has been fishing for a notice for a long time, it ought perhaps, for once to be gratified. The Chronicle is of some value because it illustrates what can be done by persistent lying and shameless fraud; and on the

other hand what cannot be done when a base man prostitutes a newspaper to dishonorable ends.

"When the printers suddenly refused to work in the Bulletin office without an advance of wages . . . the Chronicle's opportunity for deviltry had come. . . . A more shameless conspiracy against the best interests of the working men was never perpetrated in this city. . . .

"While the proprietors of this corrupt sheet boast that they accede to the advanced rates, they have cheapened the editorial service of that paper because it does not require any first-class talent to concoct a falsehood, to invent an account of an interview or to drag the names of men and women into that sheet for blackmailing purposes. Even the small pittance paid in this department is made to depend upon success in getting up sensation accounts in which truth is never a necessary element. And what better thing than this can be expected from such a shameless fellow as this DeYoung, whom respectable people shun as they would a leper? . . . There is a limit to the mischief which even one so unwholesome and morally rotten can create. . . . The Chronicle has found its

level, and it is so low down that it may possibly excite pity while it is despised. Every advertisement sent to that sheet,and every dollar paid by way of subscriptions or other patronage, is a premium paid for baseness and newspaper dishonesty. The Chronicle comes before the public and virtually says we will show the people how a newspaper can live by pandering to the meanest prejudices and by concocting the smartest falsehoods. . . . We have only turned the concern over with a long stick. When it becomes a little more offensive the public will bury it."

Doubtless the pitch of the foregoing editorial was induced by what the Chronicle had published, July 30, 1870:

"A MENDACIOUS AND UNSCRUPULOUS JOURNALIST

"The Chronicle is the chosen target at which Pickering,through his organs the Call and Bulletin, is launching arrows of vituperative malice and vindictive personal abuse. If the Chronicle was the only journal in San Francisco that suffered from the cowardly aspersions and base insinuations of this individual, the public might suppose that the Chronicle was more or less at fault. The name of Pickering occupies an unenviable position in the annals of

the police and criminal courts of this State, and more than once has he been proclaimed and branded as a libeler of honorable man. When, we ask, has any man of honesty and enterprise undertaken to establish a public journal in this city without encountering the malicious persecution, the vilification and falsehood of this man Pickering? He actually seems to regard the establishment of another journal as a capital crime, requiring the whole of his time in crawling through the dirty alleys of journalism to circumvent and destroy a prosperous rival. The Chronicle is such a rival, and Pickering hates and fears its influence among a people who admire independence of thought and action, and scorn with contempt the fawning and sycophantic journalist whose policies, as demonstrated in the Call and Bulletin, are as far apart as the poles. We do not choose to occupy space in replying to the mean and vulgar personalities of Pickering. We shall merely add that an individual, reported to be a fugitive criminal from St. Louis, is hardly the proper person to investigate the moral character and fix the social standing of contemporaries. If circumstances should compel us to

resume this disagreeable discussion, we do not propose to mince our words. If anyone is to move furtively, keep close to the wall and hide his shadow, it shall be this same unscrupulous Pickering. If he desires war and will be satisfied with nothing else, we propose to gratify him, and he may rest assured that hostilities will be carried into his own camp,without grace or quarter, and with all the vigor and energy that we are possessed of."

The Alta California's vitriol seems to have been for general distribution, rather than for any special rival. This time the Bulletin is the rival considered, August 27, 1873:

"THE SHORT-HAIRED SAMSON

"For years an Independent Municipal Ticket has been the Bulletin's egg, over which its personnel has spread its wings, ruffled its feathers, clucked and cackled like any other old setting hen that supposes every chick her own, when hatched, whoever and whatever the parentage. Not long since it went into a setting mode again, began to make her (sic) nest, advocated the Municipal system of Convention, and gave indications of saying, like Samson after Delilah had trimmed his locks: 'I will arise and do as at other times.' But his strength had departed.

"The Municipal Convention met, made its ticket, a good one, too, and according to usage and honor the Bulletin should support it. It does not, however. Why? Is it because the Bulletin was not allowed to dictate the nomination? Why should it? Is that concern wiser than our citizens? Is it more honest? Is it superior in intellect, in experience, in business capacity, in education? Has it more to lose by bad nominations or more to win by good ones? And because it has been allowed so long to dictate, now because it has been denied that dictatorship, how selfish and ignoble its spirit that deserts its own advocated policy."

The following from the Chronicle of May 26, 1877, would have difficulty in "making" the editorial page of today:

"OH, THE HOUNDS

"The Bulletin yesterday evening gave tongue with the rest of the pack of hounds called out by the winding-horn of Sargent Billy Carr and the ring to hunt down the Chronicle. . . . In short, the Bulletin has driveled under the present 'respectable' management till it is beneath contempt . . . a journalistic slut, whose fangs have been extracted and which is supported by spoon-victuals from the hands of all sorts of rings. . . . Oh, the hounds!"

As the climax of a dissertation on a broad subject, the Evening Bulletin of May 25, 1877, published the following opinion for local consumption:

"HIGH CRIMES AGAINST SOCIETY

> "There never has been a newspaper in this city which has sought to make so much capital out of mean and malicious lying as the Chronicle. . . . The Chronicle, by far the worst of the lot in cool and malignant lying, is now called to face the music, and notwithstanding all its bravado and bluster, does not seem to relish a judicial investigation at all. Some of the parties who have been assailed, have no other alternative than to go squarely into Court and there vindicate themselves. . . . We have had so many newspaper assaults upon character of late as to lead many to inquire whether there are really any honest men left in the community. It certainly cannot be a worse day when these wholesale defamers are called to face the music."

Throwing a brick and presenting a bouquet, both in one paragraph, were accomplished by the editor of the Examiner, January 5, 1883:

"THE BULLETIN'S SENSATION

"Our sensational contemporary, the Bulletin, yesterday sought to alarm the community by the publication of a dispatch, purporting to emanate from Washington, which stated that a terrible storm of wind and snow was raging there, the wind blowing at an awful rate. To more fully intensify the popular apprehension, big black headlines announced the imaginary storm. The dispatch really came from Mount Washington, New Hampshire; and the only purpose our contemporary could have had in dating it from the capital, so far as we can see, was to make people think that lightweights were in grave danger of being swept into the Potomac Flats and smothered in the mud. Friends of Messrs. Miller, Page and Pacheco were a little nervous over the announcement, but, no confirmation of the alleged news arriving, they recovered their composure. Such sensational tactics are very reprehensible in any journal. The usually staid and heavy Bulletin should not descend to them any more."

In the following from the Examiner of May 16, 1883, the editor goes to Sacramento for one object of his immediate concern:

"FALSE COLORS

"The Sacramento Bee, which has recently discovered a ferocious and sustained antipathy to Mr. Hearst, comes to the conclusion that because he owns a cattle ranch in San Luis Obispo county he must of necessity be a monopolist, and that in opposing railroad monopoly he is sailing under false colors. The Bee, which is in favor of railroad monopoly because it is profitable to believe in it, but is opposed to cattle ranches because it owns none to believe in, is one of those peculiar products of Republican politics which are always ready to sell their conscience and their aid to the highest bidder. It knows itself to be corrupt, and it therefore concludes that others are equally dishonest. The brazen advocate of all that is revolting in the grinding exactions and oppressions of the transportation monopoly, it assumes that the public is only less dishonest because it has less temptation to wicked and unadulterated cussedness. Its attacks upon Mr. Hearst are inspired by the fact that its railroad masters find the proprietor of the Examiner an impediment in the way of indiscriminate larceny. He denounces these sorded and avaricious

corporations because they rob the people by levying enormous tributes upon industry and tax production to the last dollar it will endure . . . Every dollar which Mr. Hearst has acquired came from the mines. . . . The larger part of it has been brought from distant territories and invested in California. . . .

"On the other hand, the railroad monopoly, of which the Bee is the purchased advocate and defender, acquired every dollar of its wealth from public charity, public pillage and wholesale robbery. It began by defrauding the Government, and continued its nefarious career by public and private larcenies which, in comparison, would make the crimes of the worst outlawed felon of San Quentin shine beside its deeds like the virtues of an angel. . . ."

On the same day, May 16, 1883, the Examiner published the following criticism of the Post:

"THE SENSITIVE POST

"Napoleon declared that if you scratched a Russian you would find a Tartar beneath. Whenever a Republican officeholder is scratched, there is too often a mine of fraud and corruption under the lacerated skin. This fact is becoming so universally understood that the organs are getting to be sensitive over it. So

with the Post regarding the State Prison investigation. It sees in the course adopted by the Attorney-General a menacing danger to the ring which has fattened on the State Prison corruption. It dreads exposures and abhors the prying curiosity of the Attorney General. It would, of course, be very convenient if our esteemed contemporary could have the investigation conducted precisely after the fashion which it might be pleased to lay down. It belongs to a party that is used to whitewashing. It would have the investigation conducted in a way that would bring all the implicated parties to public attention bright and shining as a new nickel. But unfortunately,the Attorney-General does not see the matter in that light. Hence the tears of our esteemed contemporary."

Interpreting a knock as really a boost, the Examiner of June 15, 1884, published the following retort:

"SORE HEADED ORGANS

"The Examiner ought to feel especially elated at the evidently converted attacks which the sorely bedeviled monopoly organs in this city are making upon it. This railroad has turned loose upon us its organs . . . It is very creditable to the Examiner, however, that the two papers which Mr. Huntington so easily

succeeded in 'caving down the bank' some years ago, are now, and have always been, its persistent and malignant assailants. Their rapidly waining (sic) circulation and loss of patronage has sic largely accrued to the benefit of the Examiner. We have become the benificiaries of their business misfortunes. That they should feel especially malignant to the editor and proprietors of this paper in consequence of this condition of things is not surprising. By studied misrepresentation they hope to recall the business they have lost. By deliberate misstatements they hope to gratify the secret spleen they have not the courage to openly manifest. Their accusations are so manifestly the result of pique, and are so clearly malignant, that, like some kindred poisons, they carry with them their own antidote. Their effect upon the public will be largely modified by the contempt they inspire in decent and intelligent people."

In answer to a "challenge," the Call published the following, February 6, 1887:

"OUR COMFORTING CONTEMPORARY

"A passing allusion in the Call to the self-evident fact that the Chronicle is steadily retrograding to the rear of the journalistic

ranks has aroused the ire of our contemporary to the pitch of frenzy. Nothing is less pleasing to those who move systematically in the shadow of falsehood and duplicity than a ray of truth and the darker and more sinuous their ways the greater their rage and consternation when the light strikes them. It is exceedingly significent that the mere allusion to the Chronicle's failing circulation should at this time have such a disturbing influence on its editorial temper . . . the Bush street organ has ceased to enjoy even the questionable distinction of unrivaled scurrility and sensationalism.

"Having pursued that line of unsavory journalism past the limit of personal safety and pecuniary profit, our contemporary has latterly essayed a new and less hazardous career . . . the Chronicle, having ceased to be the exponent of social filth and sensationalism, finds the road to social distinction and reliability beset with unsurmountable obstacles . . . The nemesis of untruth and scurrility has overtaken it, and, sinking with the weight of an odious record, it is gradually finding the oblivion that eventually falls to the lot of all bad and inherently vicious journals.

"Angered at finding that its present dullness fails to prove a profitable substitute for its former characteristics, our contemporary has become unduly and foolishly sensitive to criticism. Forgetting its newly assumed character of a conservative journal, it reverts to its original style of procedure and repays quiet comment with maledictions and feverish falsification. With the instinct of the journalistic highbinder and gambler, it desires to settle the controversy at once by a duel, as it were; but the contest is to be with the weapon that has always been most potential in controlling it, (sic) -- the ever effective and highly persuasive American twenty-dollar piece. The proposition is a most unique and beautiful one: The Chronicle is to wager so many thousands and the Call a stated amount of gold on the question of relative circulation, and then the public is to be edified by the progress of the count, duly advertised, of course, on the illuminated bulletin boards of both newspaper offices. Day after day, while thie momentous investigation is in progress and the High Court of Inquiry is bending its intellect thereto, the wheels of progress are, as it were, to be stopped, and commerce and trade to be set aside

for the weightier duties of scanning the returns. Then, when at last the world has been satisfied, and the business community can again breathe freely, the losing publisher will stand forth in the dazzling popularity of a philanthropist as he hands over to some charitable institution the amount of money he has staked and lost.

"This proposition is eminently worthy of the order of intellect which projects great schemes to arm the populace with cast-iron pistols, equip them with gum boots, hunting-coats and sewing machines, and tranform a newspaper office into a second-hand junk and hand-me-down shop.

"We willingly concede that it would be worth the sacrifice of some personal respect and dignity to engage in any scheme by which the publisher of the Chronicle could be made to assume the unaccustomed role of a philanthropist and contribute some of his questionably gotten gains to the worthy cause of charity. Our anxiety to accomplish a marvelous and much needed reform does not blind us, however, to the fact that the Call and the Chronicle have nothing in common, and can never meet on the same plane, whatever the pretext. The public

doubtless knows already which journal has, in the consistent line of its policy, done the more to maintain or fill the various institutions, of the State from those charitable to those penitentiary.

" . . . It needs no astute mind to realize that in a contest such as the Chronicle seeks the most gifted liar and skillful falsifier of the business records should achieve a signal victory. The statistical duel . . . would not be fought out on the lines made famous by George Washington, but according to the tactics handed down as a guidebook to mendacity by the deathless Ananias . . .

"We must, therefore, for the present decline with thanks the kind offer of the publisher of the Chronicle to join him in his sporting avocations . . . A wager on an official count of doctored circulation records, a gastronomic contest on broiled quails, a decisive game of baseball, or a mounted sword contest to a finish cannot be agreed to as final and conclusive proof of journalistic superiority . . . The Call is satisfied with the verdict of the people, which is already written in the width of its advertising columns and the friendliness of its reception in the tens of thousands of re-

> spectable homes in California. Until we are offered more convincing proof of the reversion of that judgment than the feverish protestations of the Chronicle we shall refuse to believe that honest dealing and a conscientious regard for the rights of others are losing principles in the journalism of our great State."

The public did not have long to wait for the Chronicle's reply to the foregoing editorial from the Call. The following day, February 7, 1887, the Chronicle published this answer:

"POOR OLD MR. PICKERING

> "Poor old Mr. Pickering is in a great rage, and no wonder. We can hardly find it in our heart to blame him, although as a rule we condemn public exhibitions of passion. When a man sees a property which was once returning its owners large profits slowly falling into decay it is not unnatural that the fact should be irritating, . . . It must indeed be galling to a proprietor to feel conscious that his imbecile course has brought about the ruin of what in fitter hands might have always provided a lucrative newspaper . . . The loss of money can be borne with fortitude when a man has some savings to fall back upon, but it is hard to bear up under the feeling that you are despised as a failure . . .

"Mr. Pickering has for some years past borne with a fortitude almost heroic the knowledge of the increasing decrepitude of his morning paper. He may have winced in private, but so far as the public was concerned he acted with Spartan firmness. The desertion of advertisers and the dwindling of subscription lists may have wrung his pockets, but he kept as smiling a face as the boy whose vitals were gnawed by the wolf. But the calmness was deceptive. Beneath a placid exterior a volcano slumbered, and the accidental disclosure of the standing of the various daily journals of San Francisco, by the publication of the bids for printing the new charter, has caused it to break forth in a violent eruption. The lava of his wrath is being poured over everything, and the scoriae bids fair to bury what has not been burned up.

". . . Strange as it may seem, Mr. Pickering has only broken out because of the publication of a trifling matter, which, after all, is only one of the hundred things upon which the reading and business people of the Coast have based their opinion that the Chronicle is the leading paper of the Pacific coast. Why a

plain, unvarnished presentation of figures should so exasperate him, when he must be aware that on every side his paper is regarded as a sheet destitute of influence -- because its comments resemble the drivelings of idiocy more that anything else . . . we will not attempt to fathom. Our only purpose now is to bring out into plain sight once more, before they are completely covered by the lava and ashes of Pickering's wrath, the two facts pertinent to the subject, namely, that the Chronicle has a greater circulation than the Call, and that it can prove its circulation . . . And secondly, that the Call does not begin to have the circulation which it falsely claims to have.

". . . Dare he assert that his sheet is within 16,000 of the Chronicle's circulation? And if he does, can he support it? Not by his oath, or that of any of his affidavit men. We could not, nor do we believe the business men of this city would accept the oath of a man who absconded from his former home in St. Louis and whose partner pursued him for an accounting with a posse of Deputy Sheriffs . . . What would be said of a business man who would consider Mr. Pickering's affidavit as proof, when for more than twenty months he published at the

head of his columns a sworn statement that the circulation of the Call was a certain number, which did not vary one sheet either way in all that period?

". . . Mr. Pickering has our sympathy in his distress, although we can never approve of his volcanic exhibition of wrath, or of his vicious disposition to misrepresent. But adversity has its uses, and if there is any dependence to be placed on a Scriptural saying, we may yet see old Mr. Pickering in a cheerful frame of mind."

The following from the Chronicle July 2, 1887, by comparison is not so venomous:

"PEACE RESTORED

"It is extremely gratifying to note that the amicable relations between Messrs. Pickering and Fitch's morning paper and Messrs. Fitch amd Pickering's evening paper have been fully restored, and that strife which seemed sometime since about to develop into open warfare has been lulled into sweet and dreamy peace. It would have been sad indeed to witness so old and decrepit a couple (we mean the newspapers, so-called), in the sere and yellow leaf and tottering with feeble steps toward their last,

long home, rent asunder by bickerings and quarrelings and indulging in mutual recrimination.

"A common purpose and a common enemy has (sic) again united this fond couple, and no matter how ridiculous the assertions of one may be, the other supports them with a zeal worthy a better cause. If one says that 7½ cents on the $100 is onerous, the other, like the chorus in a Greek drama, takes up the cry and rings the changes on the woes of the taxpayer. If one alludes to 'village boomers' the other rounds out the phrase with 'Boston banditti.' If the morning paper ventures upon 'wandering communards', the evening paper caps the epithet with 'raiders of the Treasury.' Alike in their sworn hostility to progress and municipal prosperity, each enters the lists in opposition to all that can make a city great or wealthy or flourishing, and each uses the missle best fitted to its hand -- mud -- with equal dexterity.

". . . The fallacies and blunders -- to put it very mildly -- of these two papers are like the heads of the fabled Hydra -- as fast as one is cut off two spring up in its place. . ."

This from the Examiner of September 25, 1893, is an interesting commentary on journalism of the Gay Nineties:

> Competition by San Francisco journalism is becoming fierce. Our hollow-eyed contemporary, the Chronicle which hovers like a seagull in the wake of the Examiner to pick up whatever may chance to fall overboard, and which usually is not more than twenty-four hours behind this journal and the publication of important intelligence, has discovered that the Examiner stole from it a bit of police news in Gilmore abortion case. Senator DeYoung excites himself unduly. The Examiner, having had the first and the best of the sensation, is perfectly willing that the Senator should have for his own such further fragments of Miss Gilmore as the waves wash up and the police collect. He even has our permission to exhibit them as part of his trip around-the-world-for-ten cents in Nickeleum of the Widwinter Fair."

While the Examiner, encouraged perhaps by the supposition that it was toppling its rivals editorally, was taking on all comers, the Call of October 4, 1896, published the following:

"THE ELEVATION OF JOURNALISM

> "When W. R. Hearst emerged from the classic shades of Harvard College and the gentle joys of dalliance to engage in journalism there

was much hopeful expectation indulged in by those who had lofty ideas of the American newspaper and of its possible elevation. It would have been a high and noble ambition in Mr.Hearst to attempt the realization of these hopes by lifting the paper which had been purchased for him out of the depths of its past unworth and placing it upon a pedestal of merit, virtue, honor and repute beyond suspicion and worthy of public confidence and praise.

"The young man entered upon his career as a journalist with every imaginable advantage. He had wealth, education,a good presence, popularity and an honored name. No man ever had a better opportunity to lift journalism to a higher level and to keep it there without descending to the ignoble policies, the degrading methods and the slavish expedients which those of low instincts and limited means have too frequently been tempted to employ. He could have repeated and improved in San Francisco the career of George W. Childs of Philadelphia or Elliot F. Shepard of New York.

"Instead he has chosen to wallow with increasing frequency and desire in the filthiest pools which the bogs and fens of modern journalism afford. He endeavored to build up the power

and influence of his paper by methods which would have disgraced the most unconscionable fraud and faker who haunts the entrance to a county fair. He has been utterly regardless of the yesterdays and to-morrows of a newspaper, and has counted the friendships, the duties and the principles of either as nothing compared with the sensations of to-day. In the same issue, and even sometimes upon the same page, his paper has paraded its owner's praise and blame of vice and virtue, according to the passing whim of the hour. By partnerships in lotteries or worse; by purchased connivance at frauds and swindles in public and private service; by paid complacence in the presence of political infamies; by unblushing encouragement and advocacy of all that is false and hollow in daily life, and of every sham and folly which have for their purpose the pollution of the human mind; by the ridicule of every aspiration and effort for the betterment of society; by daring endeavors at the levy of blackmail upon public officials, and by successful extortion practiced upon private corporations, it has made itself feared as well as hated, by every lover of truth and decency in the land.

> "A man who has inherited wealth and has acquired power by such disreputable means sometimes cherishes the aspiration to wash up and be a gentleman. The owner of the Examiner has never indulged in this laudable desire and may be excused therefor, since an inspection of the files of his newspaper would impress any sane-minded person with the utter hopelessness of the task. It has been left to this willing exponent and organizer of all that is base and ignoble in modern journalism to amply deserve Macauley's famous castigation of Barrere. 'Whatsoever things are false, whatsoever things are dishonest, whatsoever things are unjust, whatsoever things are impure, whatsoever things are hateful, whatsoever things of evil report, if there is any vice, if there by any infamy -- all of these things are blended in this the most shameless and abandoned bawd and pander among newspapers of to-day."

Evidently the contemporary practice of using small type and little space as a device to belittle, and large type and lots of space to emphasize the significance of the news to fit with editorial-room and business-office policy was understood and practiced many years ago, as the following exposure by the Bulletin of January 19, 1899, shows:

"IN PITIFUL PLIGHT

"The Chronicle's position in the Senatorial contest has become grotesque, and its 39,000 subscribers that it has undertaken to deceive will now have their eyes opened, even if they have been blind heretofore. Strange to say,the Call's position happens not to be so distressingly ludicrous, as the Call,true to its policy to 'roast' everyone in sight, has consistently grilled Grant ever since the fight commenced. Consequently it is now in line. But the Chronicle, thinking itself more artful than the amateur of the taller tower, made a bold play to pick a winner, and chose Grant because he had twenty-eight votes that seemed to be solidly for him. Now the scene has entirely changed, and Burns, whom the Chronicle has been vilifying and lying about, stands easily by and listens to the most horrifying acts of corruption performed by the hired agents of the Chronicle's holy canditate for Senator. It is pitiful to witness the squirming of the Chronicle in its effort to blow loud blasts about Wright, in great black type,and to notice how obscurely the damaging testimony is placed in the columns or the paper. On one page is a hurrah article

> calling for the election of Grant, and on the opposite one, in very small type, is the story of Assemblyman Anderson, who says Green, for Grant, jingled a handful of twenty-dollar pieces in his face in an effort to tempt him.
>
> "Will any of the 39,000 subscribers of the Chronicle still believe that that paper cares a rap for the good of the State, when it connives at the election of a mere mercenary like Grant to the highest office in the gift of the people of California?"

That the casualties were few compared with the quantity of rhetorical powder-and-ball used, does not prove that earnestness and sincerity were not fundamental editorial characteristics of the San Francisco press. That there was a certain amount of make-believe antogonism is probable. At any rate, journalistic bitterness waned with the passing of years. Bouquets, albeit tinctured, began to fall where brickbats had erstwhile battered, and, whether gagged or agreeable, silence began to modify the reign of continuous discord. In this respect, the following from the Call of April 25, 1899, is pertinent:

> "The San Francisco Chronicle has added new laurels to the many it has won for its aggressive defense of what is right and its uncompromising defiance of what is wrong. The brilliant

stand taken yesterday by the Chronicle against the injustice of the anti-cartoon law merits commendation. The Chronicle has deserved many a meed of praise for its eloquent flashes of silence."

PART 2

SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS

Nearly every problem of social and economic relationships which confronts the "Four Estates" today had its embryo in the San Francisco of the Gold Rush period. Some of the solutions offered in the following editorial excerpts represent the best and finest type of social thinking and community planning and leadership of the day. Others reflect a sectional narrow-mindness which perhaps could not be avoided in a frontier community on the rim of a vast, undeveloped continent. But all were sincere, and the vast majority representative of a section of community sentiment.

The California Star editor's half-humorous declaration that "we, for our single self, shall straightway throw up the pen" and join the treasure hunt, if "some hidden treasure were brought out," was fulfilled in a manner beyond his wildest dreams, within a twelvemonth. It was a fulfillment that irrevocably modified the thought and newspaper editorials of the community for at least three decades. Announced the Star of March 28, 1848:

> "A good move would be for all property owners in the place . . . to employ upon their unoccupied lands, some few of our liquor-house idlers, and in the process of ploughing, harrowing, hoeing and planting. It is not idle to believe that some hidden treasure would be brought out. Some silver mines are wanted in this vicinity . . . Montaray (sic) our capital rests on a bed of quicksilver, so say the cute and knowing. We say, if we can discover ourselves on a bed of silver, we for our single self, shall straight way throw up the pen and cry aloud with Hood, 'A pickaxe or a spade.'"

The Indian question began to appear in the editorial columns of San Francisco newspapers in the early fifties, and continued to do so for many years thereafter; and during that entire period the publishers and the people were strongly opposed to the treatment given the Indians by Government Indian agents and "unprincipled, land-stealing, Indian-robbing whites . . ." The Golden Era lets the red man plead his own cause, February 13, 1853, in a quotation from a Toronto, Canada newspaper:

"INDIAN ELOQUENCE

> ". . . A Toronto paper of the 30th ult.' contains an earnest appeal from the Indians of Rice Lake, to the whites, begging them to stay the plague of interference which has been communicated by them to the children of the forest.

Some passages of the appeal are exceedingly eloquent and touching. It says:

"'The five villages, Alnwick, Rice Lake, Mud Lake, Schoogog and Credit, are all that are left to the Mississagan tribe of Indians. Save us! our white brother, save us!

"'Long ago you came to us and asked for a place to build your wigwam, we gave you a country; say, was it worth giving? We now ask you for deliverance from an enemy we ourselves cannot overcome, like everything else of the white man, it is too strong for us. We do love our homes, and we do fight this invader of their purity and being; but our ranks are getting thinner and weaker; our deadly foe is marching onward, wasting, destroying,crushing, a victor, to the west!

"'My white brother -- could the souls of the dead Chippewas and Mohawks, killed by the fire-water come from the land of shades, and camp by the door of the whisky trader, from the City of the Rock, to the head waters of the Big Lake, town and village would be crowded by the pale outcasts; red no more, the totems of their fathers lost; hopeless! The track of the canoe cannot be seen upon the water, nor the tail of

an eagle in the clouds; so dies the poor drunken Indian! His canoe shoots down the stream struck with the poison the white man brought, his spirit flies into the dark cloud! -- he is gone! Who cares? Give us back our woods, the deer! -- Give us back our bark wigwams and our father's virtue. Save us, our white brothers, save us! A dying race implores you! Put out the blue fire that is consuming us. You can.!"

A year and a half later, August 20, 1854,the same paper, in an editorial, condemned the white race and Indian agents in particular for the poverty of the Indians. It also offered a plan for their rehabilitation:

"THE INDIANS OF CALIFORNIA

"--WHAT MUST BE DONE WITH THEM?--

"Look at the Indians of seven years ago, and behold in comparison their situation now, and see if the wealth of the country of which they have been dispossessed, and the consequent wretchedness which it has brought to them will not ask in return an effort at least to resist the tide of extermination which is fast sweeping them from their mountains and broad pampas of the Pacific. Seven years ago they were happy, contented and temperate -- they are now miserable restless and drunken . . . Need it be asked to whom the Indians of California are indebted for this change in their conditions?

"Of all the plans suggested for the disposition of the Indians, there is but one which has been practically tested and found at once humane and successful. It is that of domesticating them . . . We have an abundance of spare land upon which the Indians can be gathered together, and taught the elements of civilization and self-support. The matter should not rest until it has been accomplished. Let the money now annually expended by the government in fattening at the expense of the Indians, the rascally agents who pretent to distribute among them its favors,be set apart for domesticating them, and in five years the work will be happily effected."

The Alta California raised the question of the justice of attacks on the Indians, and laid the blame for Indian uprisings at the door of the National Government, in an editorial of January 21, 1873:

"THE MODOC WAR

"At last has come news of the beginning of the bloody war between the United States of America, composed of thirty millions of people, on the one part;and the great Modoc Nation composed of some forty-five 'bucks,' and as many

fillibusters and sympathisers from other bands of savages, scattered 'around loose,'and a few squaws and papooses, of the second part . . . .

"We have met the enemy and they are not ours. The Modocs have come to the front boldly, and met the white faces in grand battle . . . . The result of the two epochs in this most unfortunate quarrel has been decidedly and altogether in favor of the Modocs. The effect this far has been to make widows and orphans of some of our people, and driving a few poor Indians who are willing to live in peace and amity with the whites, and who have thus lived for years, into the mountains, into the lava bed, and to make their home and their defenses among the boulders . . . .

"The treatment of the Modocs, which caused the war, was cruel, selfish, treacherous and disgraceful. They had, for years,lived in their little section of land surrounded by scattered settlements of whites, whom they did not molest or interfere with in any manner . . . .

"But our 'land-stealing whites' . . . continued to get the poor fellows upon a Reservation desolate enough to charm a Bedouin Arab; and there violated the pledged word of the Government, and tried to purge and starve them . . .

at length . . . the blow has been struck, and the result is forty poor fellows dead and wounded, after a long day's struggle, and the Indians still master of the position. Now each death of those poor soldiers, who undoubtedly did their duty, is a murder, for which somebody is responsible and deserves hanging. Who are they? If the simple truth could be known, it would be found that Indian Agents are unprincipled land-stealing, Indian robbing whites, are guilty of it all . . . But the nation is disgraced and shamed, because of the greed of the scoundrels who have instigated this trouble."

In an editorial of January 17, 1879, the Examiner accused the Chief executive of favoritism in granting contracts according to "the Quaker policy" for the Indians:

"HAYES FAVORS INDIAN FRAUDS

"Hayes has assured a deputation of Quakers that the transfer of the Indian Bureau to the Army shall not be made so long as he can prevent it.

"There are in the United States a total of less than a quarter million of Quakers. They pay taxes and vote, and enjoy every immunity and privilege incident to the most favored citizens not of their faith. But in case of war

they contribute not to the defense or protection of the Republic, as other citizens are required to do . . . But before Grant invented the Quaker policy for the Indians, such a character as a Quaker missionary among the wild Indian tribes had not been known for half a century. But under that policy, the two hundred thousand Quakers of the whole Union were favored to the excess that they gave them seventeen of the Reservations, and a large share of the control of the Bureau, by which the Friends in charge were enabled to enjoy the enormously rich contracts and to amass millions. The Episcopalians and Catholics and Jews, who number a total of above ten millions in the Republic, were apportioned fewer Reservations than the small band of Quakers, and shut off entirely from control or patronage. Neither the Jews nor the Catholics were allowed a representative in the Board of Commissioners, although the latter were millions strong in population, and, had, from the days of Marquette and Joliet, devoted more care, periled and sacrificed more lives, and expended more money, in establishing and maintaining missions among Indians than men of all creeds put together. And now, to perpetuate this great wrong, and to enable the sanctimonious thieves and Radical robbers to further plunder the Government and

> swindle the Indians.Hayes assures the bland and unctuous Quakers that the tribes shall still be theirs to fleeee, and the army shall not have charge of the red man. The popular will, overwhelming in favor of the transfer,is as nothing to Mr. Hayes. He is pleased only to please the Quakers and their co-partners of other sects in the gigantic fraud of the Indian Bureau, as it exists."

The bitterest and most controversial social problem of California and San Francisco in the Nineteenth Century was the "Chinese question." It began with the mass immigration of Chinese industrial and agricultural labor in the Gold Rush, when they were welcomed as "our Chinese fellow-citizens." The "return to normalcy" following the Gold Rush found the labor market flooded,and unscrupulous employers used the competition between white and Chinese workers to lower wages. The number of Chinese in California increased from 3 in 1848 to 34,933 in 1860, of whom 2,719 located in San Francisco. In 1880 there were 21,745 in San Francisco alone. In addition to supplying agricultural, domestic and industrial labor, they early had begun to compete with native merchants in the cigar-making, bakery, laundry, and other businesses. As an indication of the public feeling against the Chinese, in 1878 the Workingmen's Party was organized locally by Dennis Kearney with the central slogan "The Chinese Must Go." The force and violence,

police, court and legislature discrimination employed against the Chinese during this period is reflected grimly in the following editorials:

Total restriction of Chinese immigration was advocated by the Wide West, in an editorial on July 25, 1854:

"THE CHINESE PESTILENCE:

"The immigration of the dwarfish, effete Asiatics, is in itself, a visitation hardly less dreadful than that of a plague, even when they arrive in the best sanitary condition their emasculate organization is capable of attaining.

"It is bad enough that they should reduce the value and dignity of labor, by entering into competition with our workingmen; it is more than we can endure that their females should parade the streets with painted cheeks, disgusting every pure-minded observer; but when in addition to the foul and corrupting influences that are a part of their very nature, they bring into our midst a devastating pestilence, created by their violations of our sanitary regulations, the evil loudly calls for prompt and efficient action . . . is there no means of stopping this flood of corruption? . . .

"There is but one way to meet the evil. The Legislature, absorbed entirely by selfish considerations, has failed to take action in the

premises. Let a committee be formed of men of known integrity and worth, whose duty it shall be to see that the will of our citizens, expressed through a public meeting, shall be carried out. Let every vessel which arrives here with these pests crowding her decks be forced to turn her prow to the land that vomits them forth. The remedy is a severe one, but there is no other of equal efficiency."

The Golden Era of August 20, 1854, suggested that the Chinese problem be solved by the adoption of methods of civic procedure which would "mould" the Chinese to habits of American manners and customs. The editor was strongly opposed to the idea that they should be considered a "nuisance" and prohibited from entering the country:

"THE CHINESE 'WILL THEY NEVER DRY UP!?

". . . The question now is, not how shall we get rid of the newcomers, but what means shall be adopted to retain them permanently here, to mould them in some measure to our own measures and customs and to render them a useful and profitable class of citizens, instead of a nuisance to the country, and a drawback upon its prosperity.

"As long as San Francisco and other parts of California are made a mere stamping ground for hosts of adventurers from every clime, whose

only object is to amass money here in order that they may send it away, and who have no idea of becoming settlers, the interests of residents and business men must suffer . . . What, then, are we to do with the Chinese? Coming to us as they do in hordes, the question is beginning to assume a paramount interest . . ."

On July 26, 1857, the Wide West opposed the tactics it had advocated three years earlier by criticising the police for taking steps against three Chinese which the editor considered to be "beyond what the law allows":

"A NOVEL PUNISHMENT

"During the past week a new mode of punishing criminals has been invented and carried out by Police Chief Curtis, which consists of depriving such Chinamen as may be unfortunate enough to get into the clutches of the law, of that ornamental appendage commonly called a tail. The first sufferers of the operation of this order from the Chief were Messrs. Ah Sing, Ah Bing and Ah You, who on Monday last were compelled to submit to the entreaties of a he-Delilah, and give not only a lock of hair, but the full crop, which was afterwards hung upon the railing in the City Hall, as a warning to all Celestial evildoers. We have not heard by

what authority this singular punishment is inflicted, and for the present must look upon it as a step beyond what the law allows, especially as these poor Celestials, in addition to submitting to the disgrace attending the loss of their tails, have to expiate the crime of which they are convicted by the usual term of service in the chain-gang, just like 'white folks:' (sic) and we hope that our worthy Chief, unless he has some higher authority than that he now assumes for thus depriving the poor barbarians of their chief ornamentation, will be satisfied with seeing that the requirements of the law are carried out, and that they faithfully perform the various tasks set for them by the judge who passes sentence upon them."

The editor of the Daily Dramatic Chronicle, on July 3, 1868 in a fine vein of irony, declared the idea that Chinese should have any rights"which whites are bound to respect"was "disgusting":

"CHINAMEN IN THE CARS

"It is a fact not generally known by San Franciscans, that over in Oakland Chinamen 'have rights which whites are bound to respect.' It is a most disgusting fact that the boys of Oakland are not allowed to stone Chinamen, or set

dogs upon them with impunity. Nay more, free white citizens, of the heaven-descended Caucasion race,have actually been arrested and incarcerated in the iron-clad calaboose at the corner of Fifth street and Broadway, for no other offense than abusing Chinamen. We mention these facts for the information of our fellow citizens of the Democratic persuasion who may have occasion to visit the Terminal Metropolis, in order that they may be prepared to leave some of their most precious rights and privileges behind them, when they cross the ferry.

"But even this is not all. On the Railroad from the Point to Oakland, CHINAMEN AND NEGROES ARE CONCEDED THE SAME RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES IN THE CARS AS THE SUPERIOR RACE. Yes, absolutely the same. It is well that San Francisco people should understand this, or they may get into a scrape, as two San Franciscans came near doing yesterday.In one of the cars in the one o'clock train from San Francisco,two Chinamen were seated, in the midst of other passengers, as they are daily. Two gentlemen of this city (one of them a well known Judge) entered the car, and seeing no vacant seats, the Judge's companion ordered the Chinamen to vacate theirs; which, with the habitual docility of their race, they

did,albeit quite unused to such demands on that line. Had the conductor been present, the San Francisco visitors would have been informed that the Chinamen had the same right to their seats as any other passenger had. Even as it was, much fussy indignation was expressed on the cars and afterwards on the boat, against the noble San Franciscan who had ejected these pagans to make room for white folks! Such is the state of civilization in Oakland."

On May 30, 1873,the editor of the Alta California stated his emphatic disapproval of the murder of an "inoffensive alien" by a white man:

"A SERIOUS MISFORTUNE

"The murder of a Chinaman in a public street of San Francisco on Wednesday evening to gratify a base animosity of race, is a serious misfortune to California. It will injure the moral and financial credit of the State through Christendom.

". . . An inoffensive alien, who has come to the United States under a promise of protection by solemn treaty, an honest and industrious laborer, an humble suppliant for the privilege of earning his living in a land that has boasted of being the asylum of the oppressed,

and of having the most enlightened body of citizens -- this stranger while walking along the street in the evening, jostling nobody, saying nothing, doing nothing to provoke anger, is killed by a white man, whose only motive was a hatred of the man because he dared to come to California.

". . . The business men of San Francisco should take care to avoid anything that can be interpreted into lending aid or comfort to those persons who are directly or indirectly responsible for this disgrace to California.

"The affair must be looked at not from the narrow standpoint of our little neighborhood, but from that of all Christendom . . . In the court of universal conscience,we dare not plead the color, the paganism, the low wages, and all the mean pretexts urged by the mean advocates of arson and massacre, for provoking the animosity of white ruffians. Yellow-faced pagans and poor men all have rights . . . It is the duty of the law . . . to give special protection to those too weak to defend themselves . . . the time when national interests are to be promoted by murder has not yet come . . .

> "How shall we demand justice for the murder of Americans, on account of national animosity in Mexico, South America, China or Japan, if like offenses are common here? . . . We cannot afford to expose ourselves to exclusion from the ports and the trade of China and Japan, nor can we afford to do anything in this matter but to follow the sacred rules of political justice, sound morality and true religion."

That the editor of the Alta California was strongly opposed to any kind of treatment of foreign-born persons that would infringe upon the rights guaranteed by treaties was shown on June 16, 1873:

> "THE HEATHEN ORDINANCE
>
> "To-night our Board of Supervisors will be called upon to decide by their votes a very important question. It is whether persons of foreign birth who, under the guarantee of treaties contracted by independent nations with our own through their ministers, and confirmed by the treaty-making authorities of each, published and spread about the world, have been induced to migrate hither in accordance with the terms of the treaty, shall be allowed to enjoy the rights that treaty gives them; and within the laws of this country, shall protect them in person, in property and in occupation. It is not

> a question of policy for this State, but of the pledged honor of the Federal Government; not a question of what we would do, but of what, as law-abiding citizens,duty,honor and patriotism command us to do. Twelve men who represent 180,000 one-half of whom were born in foreign lands, are called upon to decide whether those foreign-born people who have come here to better their fortune, trusting our honor and pledges as a nation, shall be treated according to the golden rule,treated as we desire our own citizens abroad should be treated, fairly, honestly and impartially;or whether they shall be singled out from the rest, and because a portion of our people think their presence undesirable, treated as criminals, subjected to punishments which not degrading to our own race, would stamp them with ineffaceable degradation . . ."

On April 18, 1877, the Examiner saw "great things" for the workingmen of America under trade-unionism, because the existence of unions in England had done "great things" for the workingmen there. At that time, the Hearst publication deprecated the fact that Chinese labor furnished capital with a monopolistic "weapon":

> "LABOR UNION NEEDED
>
> "Labor unions are needed more in San Francisco than in any other State in the Union, save,

> perhaps, Mr. Cameron's State of Pennsylvania. No other State is so prolific in millionaires; in no other young State have natural advantages been so monopolized while Chinese labor furnishes capital with a weapon as yet only beginning to be used. Trade Unions have done great things for the working-men in England; they may be made as efficient here."

The suppression of Vice in Chinatown was seen by the editor of the Examiner, April 17, 1890, as the best means to force removal of the Chinese from the heart of the city to the outskirts, a step advocated by that paper:

> "THE 'EXAMINER' AND CHINATOWN
>
> ". . . Chinatown as it now exists, is a parasitic growth that lives on vice. If the vice be vigorously suppressed, Chinatown itself will shrivel up and disappear. Its inhabitants will be forced away from the choice district they are now ruining and will be compelled to take refuge in the outskirts of the city, where their presence will do as little harm as it can possibly do anywhere. The removal of the entire Asiatic quarter from its present location is the end for which the Examiner has been working."

Japanese immigration did not become a problem in California until the early years of the present century. But

feelings of resentment against the Japanese began to smolder after their arrival in large companies, as evidenced by the following from the Alta California of January 16, 1873, in which the editor seems to be attempting to palliate existing forces of resentment against them:

"THE JAPS

"There are many circumstances connected with the current history of the Japanese and their Government which should lead the people of other nations and their government to deal honestly and even generously with them. For Japan is 'a nation born in a day:' a people that have all at once emerged from a condition of non-intercourse with the rest of the world, and like men just released from solitary confinement, are searching for light. There is much to admire in the Japanese government, much in the spirit of inquiry and desire for information, and the march already in the line of progress by its people. They have come among the nations like a newly-born child, and need somewhat a kindly nursing by other nations and people until they are fairly on their feet and able to walk alone. Common humanity demands as much as this.

"Thus treated, thus dealt with, they will become and remain friendly, and civilization,

> commerce, and trade find in them friends, advocates and supporters . . . For it is a new nation to the rest of the world, although old in its traditions and history. They, almost at a plunge, came into the family of nations. They have let down the bars, opened their gates, said to the world 'come in, come and trade, come and teach us that in which we are ignorant, receive us as we will receive you; we will learn of you. Trade with you, be on the most friendly terms with you, only treat us properly, honestly, fairly, and we will not try to dishonor your confidence and ourselves.'"

The following from the Wide West of April 23, 1854, is interesting as early local comment on "ideological" warfare against an "Absolutist," though Christian, power. The subject is the Crimean War of 1853-56:

"THE NEW CRUSADE

> "Western Europe, for the first time since the days of chivalry, is in league with the barbarians of the East. France and England advance, shoulder to shoulder, for the protection of the Crescent from encroachment of the bigoted imposters who desecrate the symbol of the Christian . . . It is a noble sight to see

the principle of Right thus vindicated, the disciples of the Prophet and the followers of Him of Nazareth uniting under a common banner against the despotic Muscovite. The circle of enmity which the Czar has drawn around him is contracting in circumference, slowly and surely. All the inventions in art to which years of undisturbed peace have given birth, will be called into requisition to add new horrors to civilized warfare. Ships, destined to the peaceful transportation of commodities and passengers, bustle with armed men and the implements of war. The useful lesson taught by the French campaign in Russia will not be forgotten. The elements so powerful in her protection then will be turned against her now . . . The champion of absolution (sic) will be made to feel the power of civilization, and his barbarians be forced to understand that the will of the Czar is not omnipotent."

The Examiner on July 4, 1898, expressed its patriotic feelings over the American casualties at the battle of Santiago, in the Spanish-American War:

"A GLORIOUS FOURTH

"To-day, when the People of America gather to signalize the anniversary of their national

independence, let us hold in pious memory the brave men who died for their country on the weltering slopes of Santiago. What tale may come of the varying battle, we do not know, but of this we are assured, that it was a glorious day for our arms,and in that bloody baptism we have renewed the pledges of American manhood. Not since the day when the French legions . . , went up the grassy slope of Gravelotte, to be rolled back in blood by the withering blizzard of iron and lead -- not since that fatal day have any troops shown such magnificent dash and daring as these our Americans . . .

"It was in no ignoble spirit of boasting that we said that Santiago should be ours, and soon. We knew our men, our soldiers and our sailors, and their invincible spirit. We felt that . . . nothing could stop them, and nothing has stopped them . . .

"And let this be the moral and purpose of today . . . that we shall renew our vows of fealty to the flag and all that for which the flag may stand, for there is no cement like blood, and the dear lives spent on the bloody hillsides of Santiago are with us yet to animate a sterner purpose, Because:

"'He is tramping out the vintage where the grapes of wrath are stored;

"'He has loosed the fearful lighting of his terrible swift sword. . .'"

On January 3, 1861, the Bulletin made the following observations on the unemployment problem which was vexing the rest of the nation at that time:

"CALIFORNIA A REFUGE FOR THE UNEMPLOYED WORKERS AT THE EAST

". . . Our correspondents tell us that there are 25,000 working men and women wandering up and down the stony streets of New York, without employment and pinched for food and fire, in this mid-winter weather. At the other extreme of the Union, where an excess of labor is scarcely ever seriously felt, things are comparatively as bad . . . a prominent contractor states it is a fact that he has offers from hundreds of sturdy young men in New Orleans to labor on the railroad, at the severest toil that human endurance is capable of, for the mere food with which to keep their bodies and souls together! And it must not be forgotten that we are yet only on the threshold of our difficulty. If matters are pushed into the deplorable attitude that certain madmen in both sections seemed determined to have them, there is no imagining the misery that the

working classes in the United States,and doubtless in England also, will be called upon to suffer. There will be a general closing of manufactories and work-shops; and thousands of operatives, mechanics and artisans will be deprived of bread at the expiration of a few more months, where there are ten out of employment now.

"In view of the cruel condition which a large class of our fellow-countrymen seem destined to be soon called upon to occupy, the inquiry arises, if we of California, so providentially removed from the scene, and cut off from a participation in the difficulty,have not some duty to perform in lessening, as far as it is in our power, the distress of our brethern. We have room in this new State for many hundred thousand additional souls. Our virgin soil is capable of producing bread to fill all stomachs that are empty. Can we not make some effort to place within reach of the starving multitudes in New York and New Orleans, the vast resources of this new country? We want sturdy arms and willing hearts. These faint for employment and bread in the East. Do not duty, interests and charity call upon California to exert herself

> at this crisis to improve the means of communication between the Old States and the Pacific? We leave these queries with our readers, convinced that the events of the next six months will forceably bring them up again to their consideration."

Conciliation and arbitration of labor disputes and trade-unionism were moot questions in early-day San Francisco journalism. On August 17, 1870, the Bulletin published the following:

> "CONCILIATION BETTER THAN STRIKES
>
> "The principles underlying the organization of many Trade Unions is an asserted natural antagonism between capital and labor, in which the former is represented as designing to oppose the latter, and as being insensible to other arguments than those of conspiracy and force. Hence the sudden and disastrous strikes which occur . . .
>
> "We submit that if any class of employees, when they think they have a real grievance, or believe their wages are truly inadequate to their necessities or merits, would confer in a friendly spirit with employers, and agree to a mutal discussion on the basis of recognition

of mutual interests, they would accomplish better results to themselves. It is not true that employers are indifferent to the welfare,rights and feelings of men who show any regard for them . . ."

The "anomaly" of pauperism was discussed by the Examiner of February 24, 1877:

"PREVENTION OF PAUPERISM

"In this country pauperism should be unknown. A pauper in a democratic republic . . . is an anomaly. That such a class exists argues the perversion in practice of the principles upon which the government is founded . . , Under a good Democratic Administration there would not be a pauper in the whole land . . .

"There is a society in New York formed for the 'prevention of pauperism' . . . The association assigns nine reasons for the existence of the social evil it aims to destroy or prevent, and they are ignorance, idleness,inebriety, improvidence, imprudent marriage,lotteries, pawnbrokers, infamous houses, and lastly, charitable institutions. This is an odd classification, as the most of those 'causes' are only marks of individual improvidence. It is singular that it never occured to those reformers

that class legislation plays an important part in the creation of pauperism. For this association to level all its batteries on the prevailing system of charity, and wholly ignore the special legislation is quixotic.

"The object of charity should be to elevate humanity,and to accomplish this end it is necessary to effect a radical change in the existing social system . . . Why is it that an immense army of tramps are traversing our territory today? Are these men idlers or vagabonds from choice or compulsion? . . . Our law-makers have been enriching the privileges of the few at the expense of the toiling many. Pauperism is the certain result. When all reformers, philanthropists,and clergymen join hands to completely demolish all forms of monopoly, then general reform will speedily follow, the masses will throw off the shackles of political despotism, and the government will be administered by and for the people."

A projected plan for"cheap and decent" homes for New York Tenement dwellers was commented upon by the Evening Bulletin June 10, 1885:

"HOMES FOR THE POOR

"An association has been organized in New York,entitled the 'Tenement House Building Company' for the purpose of furnishing the poor of

that city with cheap and decent lodgings. It is not charitable in its aims, but it is designed to provide an insurance feature, with an incentive to thrift on the part of the tenants. Buildings of approved plans will be erected, arranged for the modest accommodation of families at a rental of from $8 to $14 per month for two or three rooms. Dividends on the investment will be limited to 4 per cent per annum, and any surplus profits will be passed to the distress fund, in which the tenants will share in proportion to the rent they pay. A tenant will have the option of converting interest in the fund into stock of the company whenever it amounts to the value of one or more shares, enabling him in time to be the owner of the apartment . . . but apparently the New York workingman sees in it a material improvement in his condition of life.

"It will be if the enterprise is maintained in accordance with the prospectus . . . It is believed that the co-operative insurance feature of the design will encourage good tenants, and render residence in the company's buildings comparatively desirable. At present the hopeless and helpless position of tenants makes life

> in the tenement houses of the poorer sort a scene of misery and vice, with which the local authorities and public and private charities have vainly grappled. It remains to be seen if a business proposition can be devised which will compass a measurable success where they have failed."

In answer to a question, purportedly asked by Henry George, the Alta California made the following reply, January 6, 1890:

> "HENRY GEORGE
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> "Mr. George wants to know 'the cause of the dark shadow (poverty) which accompanies modern civilization.' It was in ancient civilization also. It has been with man since there were two men, with different tastes necessities, and a varient (sic) measure of thrift. And, our San Francisco Prophet and his prophecies and able advocacy to the contrary notwithstanding, the shadow that rose with the race will follow it and be above its grave, even as it was upon its cradle. This, though thinkers may think, and reformers reform, and enthusiasts imagine a vain thing."

A proposal for gradual acquisition by the government of the nation's utilities -- which would make possible retirement of the national debt -- was presented by the Examiner of

April 17, 1899. The inspiration for the editorial was derived from a feature article published on the same page:

"HOW THE PEOPLE MAY COME INTO THEIR OWN

"'The Examiner' desires to call particular attention to the article on this page upon 'Public Ownership Through Public Thrift.' It points out a safe, simple and practical way by which the people, through their governmental agencies, State, local and national, may gain control of their public utilities and acquire such a degree of collective wealth that private accumulations will cease to be dangerous.

"The plan proposed is that the government shall systematically set aside every year a certain surplus revenue from taxation to be applied to the purchase of productive properties, and that all the profits from the possessions so acquired shall be reinvested in similar properties. This would be equivalent to an investment of an annuity at compound interest, and no accountant needs to be told how such an annuity, even when it begins on a modest scale, piles up in the course of a few years. At the rate of $100,000,000 per year, which is much less than the average annual surplus during Arthur's administration, it would amount to thousands of millions inside of twenty years.

"This is precisely the way in which the great private fortunes that are causing us all so much worry have been accumulated. The first Astor made a little money in fur trading and invested it in productive property in New York. He took the income from that property and bought more. His children and his children's children followed his example, and the result has been the accumulation of a fortune that amounts now to two or three hundred million dollars and will amount to over ten thousand millions in another hundred years if nothing be done to check its growth.

"The feature of this plan that will especially commend it to a sober, hard-headed people like the Americans is its absolute freedom from risk. If we should buy out the $11,000,000,000 worth of railroads in the country in a lump, issue bonds for the purchase price, and bind ourselves to pay $300,000,000 or $400,000,000 a year in interest, and then the system should fall into the hands of an Alger[1], under whom it would fail to meet those obligations, the Government would be in an uncomfortable position.

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1. Russell L. Alger was Secretary of War, March, 1897, to July 1899. He was involved in the embalmed beef scandal of the 1890's and resigned at the request of President McKinley.

Its credit would be overloaded. Under the scheme proposed we should buy only what we had cash in hand to pay for. It would be our absolute unencumbered property, and if in any year it failed to return the profits it ought to yield we should merely call the management to account without suffering inconvenience.

"The Government would start out of debt, stay out of debt, and become richer and more important every year. The idea of a Government not only out of debt, but steadily accumulating valuable property seems novel and startling at first sight. We have become so accustomed to seeing soverign nations appearing as mendicants in the money markets of the world, that it does not occur to us that they could easily overshadow the richest of their subjects if they chose. Mediaeval kings scattered their wealth among their hungry favorites, and when they wanted more they borrowed from the goldsmiths. It was not in them to look ahead and make plans for future generations. It was enough if they could get somehow what they wanted for the moment.

"Modern governments have followed their example and none has been more prodigal of its resources and less concerned for the future than that of the United States.

"Naturally the shiftlessness of governments has been encouraged by the financiers that have profited by it. The rulers of the money market have always been ready to help along an issue of bonds for unproductive expenditure,but they have always discouraged public investments in dividend paying enterprises. They have been willing to see the government take the risks of launching such enterprises by subsidizing corporations, but not see them draw the profits.

"But in spite of tradition, some governments are gradually acquiring property. Prussia for instance, owns over $2,000,000,000 worth of railways, which pay not only full interest on their cost, but a clear profit of $60,000,000 a year in addition. Unfortunately these revenues are applied toward the general expenses of the government instead of being reinvested in additional properties. Still the value of the imperial,state and municipal productive investments in Germany far exceeds the amount of public debts. Practically all civilized countries except the United States own their telegraph systems, and most of them are at least partial owners of their railroad systems. And everywhere the governments are constantly undertaking new responsibilities.

"The old American sentiment of opposition to the public assumption of any undertaking that can be managed by private enterprise is disappearing. The trusts have thoroughly reconciled the people to the idea of doing collectively for the general good what combinations of capitalists are doing for their private profit. The only question now is one of ways and means. That question is completely answered in the plan proposed today."

The welfare of the school children was considered by the Bulletin, July 14, 1870, following the purging of the school libraries by discarding certain "explosive and dangerous publications" on order from the State Board of Education:

"MORE NICE THAN WISE

"The State Board of Education awoke from the somnolent effect of the McGuffy series long enough to adopt a resolution adding Harper's Monthly, Blackwood and the Overland Monthly, to the list of books in the District School Libraries. Conservatism prevailed again, however, for the action was reconsidered, several members fearing that there was something of an explosive and dangerous tendency in these magazines . . . We seem to be returning to the usage of the 'good old times' very fast. The State

Board of Education has its Index Expurgatorious and a member reveals the fact that some of the local guardians of education have burned books in the District Library that they considered of an objectional character, for either religious or political reasons. Whether the offending volumes were first examined with the discriminating judgment and literary taste which marked the pruning of Don Quixote's library by his ghostly friend, we are not advised.

" . . . The notion of the harm to come from exceptional books, providing they are not immoral or untruthful, are (sic) much exaggerated. The juvenile reader is happily insensible or indifferent to the ulterior aim of most books, and peruses them for the interest of the narrative or facts. A pleasing style, vivid characterization, and striking incidents make an impression; but the argument is commonly ignored. In those matters of opinion in which there is some sensitiveness, the home oracle is believed against all other authority. No child would be made either a Protestant or Catholic, Republican or Democrat by pouring over the attractive illustrated articles in Harper's or on the local papers of the Overland, nor would it imbibe any New England 'ism' from the exquisite juvenile

stories of Hawthorne. If there is to be any genuine literary taste cultivated, there must be latitude of literary selection, independent of the old fogies and Gradgrinds who occasionally get upon schoolboards.

" . . . If current literature is to be added to the school libraries at all -- and we think its limited introduction will be found very useful -- the magazine that treats of our own State and coast ought not to be discarded. A prophet should not be without honor in his own country."

Pensions for school teachers were unthinkable to the editor of the Chronicle, March 11, 1893:

"PENSIONING SCHOOL TEACHERS

"In the discussion of a bill like the one now pending in the Legislature for the pensioning of teachers in the public schools who have performed a definite number of years of excellent service, it is difficult to distinguish between the personal element and that which is purely general and public . . .

"And yet there is no more reason why a teacher in the public schools, no matter how long the term of service, should be supported at the public expense after his or her period

of usefulness has expired, then why a County Clerk or a Sheriff or a Coroner should be granted a pension. California pays more generous salaries to her school teachers in the public schools than any other State in the Union, and the theory of public service must be that of value given and received.

" . . . It is agreed on all hands that the United States has been unwisely liberal in the extension of the pension laws, and that there is an urgent necessity for reduction in the amounts paid year by year for that purpose.

"It is a serious question whether California can afford to set the example of a civil pension list, even for the sake of such deserving beneficiaries as veteran school teachers... If we add to the amount required for the annual educational fund a pension fund for teachers the result will surely be a revolt on the part of the tax payers of the State, which will in the end reduce the school fund, and we shall find ourselves in the position of levying taxes year by year, not to pay for maintenance of public schools, but support men and women who are no longer capable of teaching school. This bill is not defensible on principle or theory, and should be defeated."

A bill before the legislature to create a board of parole commissioners was bitterly opposed by the Chronicle, March 9, 1893:

"PAROLING PRISONERS

"The Bill creating a Board of Parole Commissioners having power to release on parole prisoners imprisoned for criminal offenses after being confined for one year has been called up on a motion to reconsider . . . and has been reconsidered and finally passed.

"In the whole legislative history of California there has never been a more vicious and dangerous piece of legislation than this. It completely upsets the whole theory of penology . . . It practically converts the whole State into a penal colony, and turns loose in the community many desperate and hardened criminals who should be kept in confinement for the term of their natural lives instead of being allowed to go at large and prey upon the community.

"This bill is an illustration of the extreme unwisdom of a radical humanitarianism. Certain soft-hearted, and, we may well believe, soft-headed people have been so wrought upon by the purely imaginary sufferings of convicts kept in confinement that they have entirely lost

sight of the rights and interests of those who have committed no crime and do not need to be imprisoned . . .

"Governor Markham should see to it that this bill does not become a law. It may be that some better form of punishment for criminals can be devised to take the place of imprisonment, but until it is done the present system should not be nullified and set at complete defiance by any such bill as the one under consideration."

The adulteration of mustard discovered in New York prompted the following comment from the Call, May 4, 1884. It was one of the abuses which led to the passage of the Pure Food and Drug Act on January 1, 1907.

"THE ADULTERATION OF MUSTARD

"Families using mustard cannot but have noticed the inferior quality of the article of late years. As a condiment it has little merit, and, if applied to the skin in the shape of a plaster, in most cases will be found to be nearly useless. Mustard has been passing under the analytic review of the New York Sanitary Bureau . . . Twelve hundred samples were inspected, nearly all of which were found to be adulterated. Three of the samples contained flour

colored with napthol yellow. Ten other samples contained flour of terra alba, the worthless ingredients forming more than sixty-five per cent of the mixture in some cases. The naphthol yellow found in some of the samples is an explosive substance, and is also an irritant poison. A dog to which Dr. Edson fed some of the stuff died in a few hours. Here it is shown that purchasers are not only swindled in the prices paid for the adulterated article of mustard, but are in danger of being poisoned by using it. When so cheap an article as mustard is adulterated and drugged,what can be expected of the fabricated higher-priced foods? In New York they traced the manufactory of the spurious mustard, and gave warning that, its adulteration must be discontinued. This was a mild punishment considering the offense. It will strike most minds that a few years of discipline in the penitentiary would be none too harsh a sentence for such an offense."

PART 3

CORRUPTION

Between the civic reform campaigns of James King of William of the Bulletin in the 1850's and those of Fremont Older of the Bulletin in the 1900's elapsed a forty-year period of comparative editorial calm, characterized by relatively mild polemics against graft or by single editorials on public issues, brilliant in their isolation. That King of William and Older were giants of journalism is indisputable. Their works are not included here because of their wide recognition elsewhere. Though of lesser stature, the men who filled the city's editorial chairs between their regimes were honest, intelligent, and sincere, however, and they defended the public weal as adequately as editors in any other comparable metropolis. Muckraking of corrupt business and government practices during the decaded 1860-1900 was sporadic rather than consistent, and extensive rather than intensive. It was difficult to level the editorial guns on a single objective and keep firing until it was reduced. Too much was under way in California. But the editors sniped away and there were casualties on both sides.

The toll-house was the Alta-California editor's incentive for the following thrust at the legislature, March 28, 1863:

"MODERN BRIGANDAGE

"In former ages brigands in picturesque costumes presented themselves to the unwary traveler in unfrequented paths, and with the utmost politeness relieved him of his valuables. Pirates cruised in intricate passages and pounced upon the rich and helpless merchantmen, and appropriated the most valuable portion of their cargo. In process of time, however, these pursuits had to be abandoned . . . Modern civilization, however, has enabled them to continue the business in a much more safe and less hazardous manner.

"If a man or set of men, in these days, should feel an uncontrollable desire to prey upon commerce, they do not straightway procure a low, long and rakish craft,put out to sea,hoist a black flag,and overhaul all the clippers from all parts of the world . . . Semmes, of course, and the others, pretend to be doing a national business. On the contrary they make a short journey to Sacramento -- make the acquaintance of men whom we sent there to deliberate night and day as to the best means of promoting our prosperity -- flatter those who aspire to lofty station, advance a little money to those who are in need, and then -- obtain a franchise to

build a wharf! Then any ship that comes into port and takes up a berth alongside their structure is compelled to pay them tolls. There is no necessity for a long chase, for boarding with cutlasses in hand, nor danger of a long rope and a short shrift in the future. Everything is done decently and in order, and in conformity with the laws and ordinances of the State.

". . . Traveling is different from what it used to be. . .

"This state of affairs has led to the adoption of an entirely new system of brigandage which combines ease with great gains. There are no longer troops of robbers to frighten the traveller from his property, but there are means of fleecing him just as thoroughly -- toll houses. If Robin-Hood or Little John, or Joaquin Muriata (sic) were alive today, we should certainly expect to find them snugly ensconsed (sic) in a toll-house somewhere, exchanging small pieces of green or yellow pasteboard, according as fancy might dictate, for quarters and halves of the currency of the United States. California is a toll-ridden country. Turn where you will the inevitable toll house looms up in the horizon . . . They expand into great

circles and take in great thoroughfares. They revolve besides within each other. There are tolls within tolls . . .

"There are millions paid every year in this State in the shape of tolls. The Legislature, instead of trying to reduce the burden, is laboring assiduously to increase it . . ."

The "seizing" of a franchise for purposes of private gain was a specific form of corruption, according to the editor of the Alta California, January 29, 1864:

"A NEW DODGE

"And now the question of loyalty is brought up. The people of San Francisco, ever since the commencement of war, have in every instance demonstrated their loyalty to the Government. . .

". . . But it seems that matters have been so manipulated that no one in this city can now pretend to be a loyal citizen of these United States, unless he is willing to aid a few gentlemen at Sacramento, Messrs. Stanford, Crocker, Hopkins, and a few others of lesser note, to build a railroad, to connect with a wagan (sic) road which they own, over the mountains to Washoe.

"It matters not, in the least degree, what arts have been employed to wring from the country means for prosecution of a private enterprise, dignified with the name of the 'Pacific Railroad' -- it does not, for a moment, count that the most scandalous practices were resorted to for the purpose of securing the votes necessary to carry the proposition -- it is of no earthly consequence that throughout the whole proceedings the most vital principles of the Constitution and of government have been violated. Over the whole mass of corruption the mantle of patriotism is to be spread, and woe to him who dares to lift it!

"The people of California ardently desire the construction of a Pacific Railroad. For years they have been laboring to induce the National Government to aid in the construction of the work. At the very moment, however, of apparent triumph, certain astute log-rollers . . . stepped in, seized the franchise, and are now endeavoring to make it subservient to their own private interests . . ."

The Bulletin of September 22, 1865, published the following criticism of gambling at the State Fair:

"REPREHENSIBLE PRACTICES -- A correspondent who has visited the State Fair sends us a

communication alleging that within the stock grounds match pools were sold at auction, and faro tables were open to public gaze and thronged with eager patrons, while jockeys went about shaking their gold in the faces of people and bantering them for bets. So far as he could see the Fair was mainly devoted to gambling and racing. If these statements are correct, they show a scandulous condition of things which ought to be amended. So far as racing is concerned, that is one of the admitted adjuncts of all agricultural Fairs, but no gambling practices should be allowed like those complained of above."

The scramble to secure water front property via "hidden ball" plays in the State Legislature is attacked in the Bulletin of October 11, 1865:

"ANOTHER SCHEME TO ROB THE CITY AND STATE

"Much has been said recently in relation to the extension of the city front in the neighborhood of Mission Bay and Potrero Nuevo; but within the last few days more importance has been given to the subject by the appearance of a new and elegantly printed map of San Francisco, with a portion of the additions, which it is said have been authorized by the Legislature

to be laid out into lots and streets. How much land in the immediate vicinity of San Francisco it is proposed by this new proposition to give to a few persons, it is impossible to say; but rumor has it that some miles of the water front are thus imperiled . . . The whole Southern front of the city, it is said, has been appropriated under color of some blunder in legislation . . .

"It is not unlikely that the inhabitants of San Francisco are about to have brought to their attention one of those schemes to get rich without labor, and at the public expense, which have been so common in this city since 1849 . . . a few persons have persistently sought to procure the passage of bills, or the interpolation in them of certain clauses by which private advantage could be gained. In all manner of ways, efforts have been made to obtain property located in the Bay of San Francisco, by the passage of such cheating enactments. It is certain in the present instance, that no honest bill has been passed effecting (sic) the property interests of San Francisco, else . . . there would be no necessity for such profound secrecy as has been preserved. If an

act of the Legislature has conveyed some millions of property into the hands of a few individuals, honestly and above board, why should shares of the stock . . . be in the market for sale at nominal prices to influential persons? . . . If it be deemed advisable to extend the water front of San Francisco, laying out hundreds of lots in the direction which the business of the city seems rapidly tending, why give this property to a few persons? . . . It is said that those persons who pronounce the passage of laws bearing upon the tide lands in San Francisco, have divided their interests -- distributing them for small amounts of money to lawyers and other persons of influence, hoping thereby to corrupt the community or hinder proper adjudications in the courts . . . If it be deemed advisable to extend the city front at Mission Bay or Potrero Nuevo, or in any portion of the city, why not give the public the advantage of such a measure and not limit it to a few politicians, lawyers and others? It is time the people of San Francisco put an end to all schemes to appropriate the water front of this city.

"The efforts which have been made to induce the Board of Supervisors to adopt the new

map as the official map of the city, is unquestionably a portion of a scheme to appropriate public property to private use, and as such should remain unacted upon or be rejected . . ."

The Chronicle of February 24, 1870, complains that grafting is all too possible in the city's bill-paying procedure:

"HOW 'THE BOARD' PASSES UPON BILLS AND ACCOUNTS AND HOW TAXPAYERS ARE ROBBED

"The recent battle in the Board of Supervisors over Senator Betge's modest bill of $88. for four reams of photographic paper attracted public attention to the subject of the manner in which bills are passed upon in our municipal legislature. We propose to furnish the readers of the Chronicle with an inkling in regard to the highly interesting matter . . . The taxpayers of San Francisco ought to feel especially interested in understanding the free and easy system by which so vast a sum of money is annually hocussed out of their pockets for the benefit of various styles and classes of swindlers. In the first place, all the bills against the city are 'put in the book,' as a general thing, on the same Monday on which the vote is taken. But this is not all. Let the public pause and 'inwardly digest' the next statement which we

are about to make: This 'putting on the book' is done, in the majority of cases, as late as 5 o'clock P.M. of the very day on which the Board is called on to pass upon them. And this is not all. It has occurred, in numerous instances, that bills have been 'put upon the book' while the Board was actually in session. No one but the Chairman of the Finance and Auditing Committee has a fair chance to examine these bills prior to the time when they are read in the Board from the book in which they have been entered so recently that they are audited before the ink is dry. Even the Chairman of this important Committee is not in the regular and legitimate course of things afforded time to examine the bills. Unless he has some private or personal knowledge of the matter, derived from outside sources, he must make up his mind from a bare glance at them . . . Now, good people of San Francisco, ye who pay the taxes and keep things going, be it known unto you that, according to the usage and established precedent, the recommendation of the Chairman generally decides the matter. The Committee is supposed to declare the judgment of the Committee. What next? The Chairman having declared the bills all right, the ayes and noes are called for on

> the question of allowing the bills, although not a single member of the Board except the Chairman, not a single member, may have even seen said bills or know anything about them. As a general thing they are allowed and ordered paid without objection or scrutiny . . . This is the way, good people of San Francisco, in which business is done in the Board. Do you wonder that taxation is high and that certain favored Supervisors get mysteriously rich? Ah, who couldn't get rich if he were Chairman of the Finance and Auditing Committee?"

On April 15, 1870, the editor of the Bulletin gave some figures to show that the legislative lobby of that year was "very" expensive:

> "NOT UP WITH THE TIMES
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> "Henry Vincent, in a recent lecture, thought that there we were far behind our British neighbors in the matter of bribery. He had not read at that time McCarthy's explanation card. In fact he could not have had an intimate acquaintance with the last California Legislature. Early in the session it was confidentially stated that there were sixty-five purchasable members in that body. But, at a later date, the number was stated, without any reserve -- 50 in the House and 15 in the Senate. Now we should like

to have the record made up of all who could not be approached with any money consideration. There are scores of men connected with the last lobby who ought to be able to make out tolerably correct lists. But suppose the figures given are not impeached? Then we can readily understand what a very expensive concern the lobby must be, and how little a matter of $20,000 would do toward putting through an important bill. We can understand why 10 per cent of the amount deposited in certain Savings Banks as mortgage tax, must be retained. Putting all the items together, it appears that it cost over a quarter of million of dollars to keep the lobby of last winter in good working order; and after all, that body retired, with the appearance of having suffered grievous disappointments."

An investigation of the San Francisco branch mint, in 1877, caused the Chronicle to comment as follows, July 27 of that year:

"DESPERATION OF LA GRANGE

"For the exposure of a systematic and deliberate attempt at the suppression of evidence by fraud and bribery we refer the reader to the details of an interview between General La Grange

and George M.Pinney reported in another column. In the ordinary course of business no sane man would think of retaining in any position involving trust or responsibility a person who has been guilty of any action which is not compatible with strict integrity and common honesty. Here we have a person occupying a most responsible position in the government service -- a position involving the protection of almost untold wealth -- engaged in transactions which, in the case of ordinary morals destitute of the political support and continuance of a corrupt Federal ring, would result in a temporary retirement to San Quentin, and aggravating his original offense by an attempt to bribe a witness against him. If there were no other charges against General La Grange, this one would be sufficient to show him to be a person utterly unfit for any public position -- a man without honor, and deserving of immediate removal. . ." [1]

The following from the Examiner of January 15, 1879, resembles some present-day comment on similar matters:

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1. According to a news story in the same issue of the Chronicle, La Grange, Director of the mint, at an arranged interview, before witnesses, offered George M. Pinney money to withdraw charges and give up, or lose, a certain memorandum book belonging to La Grange.

"THE GRANT AURORA

"It is not strange that there should be critics in England and elsewhere to bring against us the charge of attempting to organize an American aristocracy, is the opinion of the Boston Post. Some of the most glaring and invidious features of it have already made their appearances here. There is no prececent we are aware of for taking General Grant, who is as private a citizen as Private Dalzell, around the world on a pleasure trip at Government expense. The cost, as he travels, is considerable, but that is not the point. It is the assumption of the right to do this to which the Post objects. General Grant has no commission,either fixed or roving, regular or irregular, that entitles him to Government assistance in seeing the world. As Hayes has pronounced for Grant in 1880, he may think he is helping his party interests along by his course, but the United States of America does not exist for the Republican party, much as the members of that organization seem to think it does. But now the irregularities are being heaped up. They do not stop with Grant, but are passed along to his eldest son, the young man who kept a colored cadet from graduating from West Point, who would never

have graduated himself had he not been Grant's son, and who was at once lifted by this insidious system of favoritism over the heads of battle-scarred and deserving veterans and dropped into one of the softest places in the army, where he has remained -- a carpet-knight playing croquet -- while his brother officers were off fighting Indians. Now he is permitted to do what no other officer in the service would be allowed to do. It is consistency, perhaps, but scandalous consistency. It is a decayed spot in our republican institutions, and unless the surgeon's knife is soon applied it will end in gangrene."

Ship pilots operating through the Golden Gate were in a particularly favorable profession, if they cared to take advantage of their opportunities to run in contraband, according to the Alta California, January 12, 1882:

"STEALING THAT IS NOT PUNISHED

"The Federal officials are after opium-smugglers and illicit match-venders with a sharp stick. It is generally easy to catch and convict such offenders, and it is profitable. Besides, the persons engaged in this species of stealing from the Government seldom have influential friends to intercede for them. But if a

pilot steals thousands of dollars from the Government, openly persists in the robbery, and laughs at efforts to put a stop to his rascality, it might take a little trouble to get at the facts, and, it might offend some influential persons who wish to save him from punishment; therefore, the officials let him alone, and keep their eye on the Chinese peddlers. This is a great and glorious country, where one man is as good as another -- in theory; where officials are all watchful and efficient, if it pays and is not troublesome; and where 'justice is blind' to the rascalities of men of 'influence.'

One week later, January 19, 1882, the same paper commented upon what it termed a railroad "grab:"

"THE GRAB AT THE WATERFRONT

"The order now pending in the Board of Supervisors which proposes to grant to the incorporated body known as the Ocean Shore Railroad Company a franchise to lay a railroad track around a portion of the city front, with intersecting tracks on various streets, is nothing more or less than a scheme to give certain persons rights and privileges worth at least a million dollars. It is to be a gift outright,

with no consideration. The corporation is virtually mythical. No one knows exactly who composes it. It has had a franchise for two years for a road from here to Santa Cruz, and has done nothing. It is now seeking an extension of this franchise, which will give it control of the waterfront along North Beach. There is no substantial assurance whatever that it will do anything after it gets the franchise. There is equal probability that the right of way will be treated as a piece of merchandise, to be sold to the highest bidder, without regard to the city's interests. There is no evidence that connection with any trans-continental road is to be made when the Ocean Shore is built; . . .

"It is noticeable that manipulators of the Convention which nominated the majority of the Supervisors now appear before the Board as counsel or advocates of this scheme. When the order was passed to print one Supervisor sardonically exclaimed, 'Now the howl will begin.' At every subsequent stage of its consideration there have been wanting indications that the final passage of the order has been 'fixed' . . .

"San Francisco once organized a Vigilance Committee to deal with common rogues. Will it become necessary to organize another Vigilance Committee to handle official knaves?"

Affairs of San Quentin prison received the attention of the Examiner, January 25, 1883:

"TURN THEM OUT

"The investigations of the San Quentin Prison management has begun. It is hardly needed. It is known that the present Board of Directors and Warden Ames have run the institution in a partisan way, contrary to the spirit of the constitution and the law. The scandal connected with claims of the Directors for mileage and expenses we need not now rehearse. The impropriety of their getting articles from the prison by quasi purchase is evident, The gross extravgance in the purchase of alleged clay land has been shown heretofore. The manner in which contracts for machinery were given out is most suspicious. The fact that everyone who ventured to testify against the management at the former investigation has been discharged, speaks for itself. The other fact that the Warden is, by habits, and training, utterly unsuited for such a place is self-evident. There are various other good and sufficient reasons why Warden and Directors should be removed, so that Governor Stoneman may have an opportunity to inaugurate the needed reform of an unpartisan and intelligent system of governing the State Prisons.

The need of this change is privately admitted by leading Republicans, though the organs may howl against it."

On May 3, 1884, the Call asked for a legislative investigation of charges of bribery:

"AN INVESTIGATION WANTED

". . . Since the Legislature has been in extra session there have been many charges of bribery or attempted bribery. . . . A committee has now been appointed to investigate these charges. We trust the committee will do its work thoroughly. If one member has sold his vote let his punishment be such that he will serve future legislators as a warning. No possible excuse can be set up for a man who sells a vote the public have entrusted to his keeping. The common thief may plead hunger, a destitute family or even a hereditary proclivity to theft. A member of the Legislature can urge none of the excuses. If he sells his vote he commits an unprovoked crime. No punishment is too severe for him. But in proportion as this offense is inexcusable and detestable, so should the honest legislator be protected against false accusations. A charge of this nature made against a legislator cannot be easily disproved. The

person who scatters them about without proof of their truth is no better than a common blackmailer. When the committee gets through the bribery investigation it might be well to turn its attention to loose charges of this character and the persons who have preferred them. . . If the charge was made wilfully, knowing it to be false, no punishment is too severe for the person making it. The people of the State desire to respect the Legislature. . . We would like to know that every member has been true to his trust -- that neither money nor influence had been able to seduce him. The practice of assailing members in a general way and without evidence to support accusations tends to lower the general character of the body to which they may belong. The people assume that when such charges are common there must be some foundation for them."

That fraud existed in the management of the San Francisco custom house was intimated by the Chronicle, August 22, 1885:

"THE CUSTOM HOUSE

"It is not to be denied that general dissatisfaction prevails with the management of the San Francisco Custom House. Common rumor

states that Chinese certificates are issued with looseness -- to use no stronger term; that they are an article of common merchandise in China, and that more of them are for sale than can be explained by the proportion of departures to arrivals. Exceedingly uncharitable suspicions are afloat in connection with the subject. Nor is this a new thing. Scandal has been busy with the matter of certificates for quite a long time and must have reached the Collector's ears, yet no searching investigation has been instituted nor have any steps been taken to silence the tongues of scandal mongers. People believe that the Collector is not giving the Exclusion Act a fair show; that if he is not conniving at its nullification, he is certainly displaying no particular energy in executing its provisions. The recent discovery that, notwithstanding the Act, the number of Chinamen in San Francisco is steadily increasing, has naturally led to criticism of the manner in which it is administered by Collector Sears.

". . . Chinese yokels, whose garb and general appearance plainly show that they never were in this country before, and who yet bear Custom House certificates, which are accepted

almost without challenge, suggests that there is something radically wrong about the business.

". . . It must be very evident to the most casual observer that some reason for pursuing a lax system in this connection exists. If Collector Sears were animated by a zealous desire to enforce the Exclusion Act strictly we would long ago have adopted the method which Judge Hoffman suggested to secure identification, namely, to append photographs of the person applying for a certificate to the document and to the register. The Chinese would not have objected. So far as we can learn Collector Sears was the first man to suggest an objection. In his letter to Secretary Manning dated July 23, 1885, he insiduously points out a paragraph in the Exclusion Act which he feared might not permit him to force the Chinese to present photographs for attachment to their certificates. It seems to us that this fine-spun construction might have come from some other source; it certainly does not come with a good grace from a man whom California has a right to expect would not assist in the work of opening the door of coolie immigration.

". . . We believe that a man thoroughly in earnest could put a stop to the flagrant frauds

now being perpetrated, and which will not be checked until a new deal is made."

Political fraud was charged against the Examiner by the Alta California, March 3, 1890:

"HOW MUCH DID IT GET

"It has been an open secret for some time that the Examiner is in alliance with the Republican party; although the paper has kept up some sort of pretense of being Democratic until lately. Now it is beginning to show the cloven foot more brazenly, whether from carelessness of consequence or innate stupidity cannot yet be discovered. . . . When it broke down on the tariff, people merely smiled, and when it began to advocate steamship subsidies and smash the surplus, smiles were turned into questions. But when it abandoned the Democratic position of the recent remarkable contention in Congress, and justified Speaker Reed in his usurpation, the eyes of the public began to open. Now it has taken to reproducing caricatures of the Democratic party and prominent Democrats in Judge, the most malignant Republican comic journal in the country, of which Russell B. Harrison, son of the Presi-

dent, is part owner. As the Examiner is without principle or influence, its defection is a matter of small consequence; but its treachery while pretending to be Democratic is characteristic. About the only real point of interest there is in the affair is the question of compensation. How much did it get, or how much is it to get? We would like to have the pleasure of knowing that the enemy got cheated in making the dicker."

The construction, financing and operation of the transcontinental railroad in San Francisco brought with it a suspicion -- to put it mildly -- of fraud and corruption. The following is from the Chronicle of April 6, 1890:

"GRAFT, RAILROADS

"Senator Stanford is reported as saying: 'The Central Pacific alone cannot pay its debt. It is a poor road. Ten years ago it was able to pay $3,000,000 annually to the Government; now it hardly earns enough to pay $500,000.' If the Central Pacific is poor it is because Stanford and his associates have looted it. It has been profitable enough to put over a hundred millions into the pockets of five men, and would still pay handsomely if it were not delib-

erately robbed in order to benefit the Southern Pacific. It has been asserted that Mr. Stanford has lost his mental grip. The fact he makes such admissions as the above and imagines them to be arguments in favor of further leniency on the part of the Government goes far to confirm the correctness of this belief. No man with his wits about him would emphasize the fact that ten years ago the Central Pacific was able to pay $3,000,000 a year while now it is not able to pay half a million to the Government. The simple statement of the fact irresistibly brings to mind the other fact that it is just about ten years since the Southern Pacific was completed out of the earnings of the Central Pacific for the deliberate purposes of shutting out competition and crippling the Central Pacific. Both of these objects have evidently been successfully accomplished, yet in the hands of an honest management the Central Pacific would soon knock out the Southern, because it is by all odds the best and most convenient road if properly handled."

On September 2, 1892, the Chronicle suggested Governmental control of the railroads as the only cure for the paying of rebates:

"RAILROAD REBATES

"A bundle of waybills went astray in or about Chicago a few days ago, and it is said that a certain railway official was so much exercised over their loss that he was prepared to offer any sum up to $10,000 for their recovery. The secret of this remarkably liberal reward is said to be that the missing waybills were adorned with vouchers for rebates and expense bills, showing just how and why rates were cut. . .

"The difficulty is that all the law in the world cannot put a stop to the vicious and pernicious system of rebates. . . .

"How the waybills in question ever came to be flounced and frilled with rebate vouchers is very singular, unless the railroad company had grown careless from long-continued immunity and taken all sorts of changes of being discovered in its illegal acts. . . .

"There is one way and only one step to this rebate trickery. It has grown out of railroad competition, and if the competition be removed by putting the roads under governmental control there would be no object in paying rebates. . . That must be the end, sometime, of the fierce

railroad competition in the Eastern States where railroads are so numerous and business so divided."

As though it had been packed, wrapped and tied with a ribbon, the matter of jury-bribing seems to have been handed down from generation to generation. The Call of October 26, 1893, cites and criticises a specific case:

"JURY-BRIBING

"It has been said that the two men who are in custody on a charge of bribing jurors in the Curtis case consider their arrest as a kind of joke. . . Yet these two men are charged with committing the most heinous crime a man can commit. The murderer kills a single victim. The law declares the murderer's life forfeited. . . The murderer must expiate his crime to warn other men from an indulgence in their murderous propensities. But the jury briber is a worse enemy of the public than the ordinary murderer. He invades the sacred temple of justice and mocks the purpose for which it was erected. His object generally is to make a little money. To gratify his service he teaches the public that there is no such thing as justice. The scales tip toward the party to a suit who has the long-

est purse or best knows how to use money. Counsel are often employed, not for their knowledge of law, but for their familiarity with practices by which corrupt verdicts are secured. Of course the wretch who approaches a juror with coin in his hand is not worse than the counsel who employs him or the official who looks to one side while the bargaining is being done.

"The reason why jury bribers are so seldom punished is because if justice were done they would head so long a procession in the direction of the penitentiary. Men who have become rich by that kind of practice deprecate proceedings that lead to exposure. Yet, by whomsoever committed, jury-bribing is treason. It is treason not only against the existing Government but against all government. When men see that there is no justice to be obtained in the courts they devise other ways to protect life and property. Justice they want and justice they will have. If the courts are so constituted that justice cannot be reached through that source a shorter way will be found. . ."

The following blanket criticism of local corruption was published in the Examiner on April 19, 1894:

"THE CRIMINAL'S PARADISE

"There are differences of opinion as to the proper duties of Governments, but all who believe that Governments have any cause for existence at all hold that their first obligation is to administer justice. And yet it is just exactly at that most fundamental point that our local administrative machine in San Francisco has most conspicuously broken down. The exhibit of unpunished crime . . . shows that no criminal who knows the ropes and has money or influence enough to pull them need fear punishment for any offense in a San Francisco court. There are judges who cannot be hoodwinked, but it is easy to get cases transferred from their courts to others presided over by more pliable magistrates. Clerks and prosecuting attorneys are usually obliging, and any little favor in the way of having a record juggled or a nolle[1] entered can be counted on by a criminal with proper credentials.

"The most useful ally of crime is delay: 'When in doubt ask for a continuance,' is a maxim worth more to the criminal lawyer than all the calf-bound learning in the law library. With time, witnesses die or move away, prosecutors

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1. A legal term indicating prosecutor or plaintiff will proceed no further in his action or suit.

lose their interest, the public ceases to keep track of the progress of events, and the way becomes clear for unobtrusive return of the defendant to society.

"The trouble with all our courts is that everybody connected with them reposes too much confidence in known rascals. An honest judge takes the word of a dishonest one, or a dishonest clerk, attorney, politician, or anybody else whose interest it may be to make him believe a lie. Men whose characters are so notorious that their mere presence in any locality would entitle the neighbors to apply for their abatement as a nuisance can tell any sort of a story about bonds, or in the absence of witnesses, or the previous character or future intentions of a prisoner, and have their unsupported word accepted at par. Shyster lawyers who would make a doormat of the Ten Commandments for a dollar a piece, or five dollars for the ten, can whisper any sort of yellow-covered romance into the ear of a judge with the assurance that it will be, if not believed, at least acted upon, which is more to their purpose.

"This 'Senatorial courtesy' toward court parasites must cease if the scandal of judicial maladministration in San Francisco is to be cured. Prosecutions must not be allowed to lag, excuses must not be accepted, and nothing must be taken on trust. There must be no backdoor agreements, but everything must be done in open day. Unless the prevailing methods be altered in this direction the law will continue to be despised as the servant and accomplice of crime."

The Chronicle of March 15, 1895, accused the Southern Pacific Railroad Company of "deliberate swindling" by knowingly evading its tax responsibilities:

"DODGING TAXATION

"Just before the first Monday of the present month the Southern Pacific Company had in and about its yards at Oakland point personal property which H. P. Dalton, the present assessor of Alameda County, had estimated to be worth about $1,300,000. Assessor Dalton, however, could not assess the personal property of the railroad until the first Monday in March, and before that day had arrived the railroad company had employed all its extra cars and engines to haul steel rails and railroad ties out of Alame-

da County and to string them along the line of the road. When Assessor Dalton went to the railroad yards on the first Monday of March he found them as bare of rails and ties and even of coal as Mother Hubbard found her cupboard. Over $1,000,000 worth of personal property has been hauled out of the county to escape taxation.

"There is but one name for such conduct as this, and that is deliberate swindling. The Southern Pacific knew its obligations to the State and county as a taxpayer, and it has violated them deliberately, and by a trick which befits rather a charlatan or a miser than a corporation which owes its very existence to the patronage of the people of California."

Betrayal of the city was laid at the door of the Supervisors by the Examiner of February 7, 1898:

"THE PEOPLE BETRAYED

"The Shifty Eight has done the work that the people had reason to expect of it. It has passed the order fixing water rates at a figure that will increase the income of the Spring Valley Company. The rates are the same as the extortionate schedule of last year. . .

"The people had no right to look for any-

thing better. The men who betrayed them last year are not of the kind to forswear their ways for anything less than the certainty of the prison cell. . .

". . . But the time has passed when we can expect shame at broken pledges or regard of reputation from the members of the Shifty Eight. .

". . . Supervisor Dodge showed by figures that nobody cared to dispute that the schedule that was adopted is actually a compliance with the demands of the company. . .

"The proceedings of these men but add to the regret that the law's delay should have permitted them to serve in a place that they have demonstrated their unfitness to fill. Against the eight men who passed the schedule there is a judgment of the Superior Court removing them from office for their course in the passage of the last water order. They are in office only by a decree of the Supreme Court that an appeal from the judgment permits the expelled members to remain in office pending the hearing of an appeal."

PART 4

FINANCE

The question of governmental fiscal policy has always been and probably always will be a moot subject for discussion. No matter whether conditions of abundance prevail, a general shortage of purchasing power invariably brings about the widespread discussion of finances and theoretical solutions of the vexatious problems arising therefrom. What to use for money; what proportion of silver to gold shall be coined; when inflation can be expected to start; when the printing of greenbacks should stop -- all were questions which caused concern during the latter half of the nineteenth century.

From 1848 to 1900, four major economic crises gripped the nation, which reached their severest stages in the years 1857, 1873, 1884, and 1893. The crises of 1857 followed wild and widespread speculation in land and over expansion in railways. The panic of 1873 followed a long period of inflation, speculation in land, and high prices brought on by the Civil War; that of 1884 was brought about under similar conditions, and has often been considered as only

a continuation of its immediate predecessor. Uncertainty in regard to money metals and standards has been described as one of the causes of the 1893 panic; but no doubt previous disasters and particularly the long period of inflation from 1862 to 1879, during which payment in specie (coin) was suspended, contributed to the disaster. Sectionalism played an important part in discussion of the financial remedies which should be administered;in any one section the remedy advanced was usually determined by the metallic raw material or the agricultural products most vital to the prosperity of that section. The anticipated depletion of the world's supply of raw gold was advanced as one of the principal reasons why "free and unlimited coinage of silver, at the ratio of sixteen to one" should have been inaugurated by the Government. Later developments -- the discovery of new gold mines and a "more scientific" control of management of fiscal policy -- caused abandonment of the sixteen-to-one theory, but not before the propaganda in its behalf had succeeded in persuading the Government to coin and issue enough silver to contribute to future financial troubles of an inflationary character.

It was natural, therefore, that early-day San Francisco editors gave a great deal of consideration and editorial space to the question of finance. California was the gold-dust bowl of the nation; San Francisco was the headquarters of gigantic industrial and commercial enterprises. And the fact that California gold, in the hands of San Franciscans,

did so much for the nation in times of national stress and emergencies entitled the city to have an important voice in the monetary affairs of the country. Also, it was natural that the editorial consideration given to financial problems was linked with intrinsic political, industrial, and commercial conditions.

In the absence of a necessary supply of the "medium of exchange," San Francisco, like many other cities throughout the country, issued scrip during the panic of 1857. Its issuance necessarily complicated the city's financial problems, and therefore received considerable editorial comment. The question was handled editorially in the usual cock-sure and short-cut manner of the times, the editor of the Daily Evening Bulletin, October 14, 1857 for example, suggesting that the proper procedure to clear up the local scrip situation would be to exchange emergency paper, to the amount of millions, for real money from the public treasury of the State of California:

"FUNDING OF THE FLOATING SCRIPT

"One of the most important matters that will come before the next Legislature, so far as San Francisco is concerned, is the bill for funding the floating script (sic) of the city and county governments, now gone out of existence . . . . we take it there must be twelve

hundred thousand dollars . . . of city indebtedness, and five hundred thousand dollars of county paper unprovided for. And this exclusive of forged script, of which there is some three or four hundred thousand dollars at least . . . .

". . . We hope, therefore, that there will be no further delay in making provisions for the equitable portion of our floating debt; and at the same time, that any measure which the Legislature may adopt for the funding of the script (sic) may contain adequate provisions for discriminating between claims that are just, and those which are unjust.

"We think a safe practice would be for the Legislature to appoint a Board, with power to examine into and decide upon the nature and value of the original service or goods furnished the city, out of which each particular claim grew, and then let bonds be issued for such amount. In this way the public would pay for what they have received -- no more and no less . . ."

And with equal assurance and noteworthy optimism, the same paper, a few weeks later, November 4, 1857, evaluated the Eastern financial crisis:

"EFFECT OF THE FINANCIAL PRESSURE ON CALIFORNIA

"After hearing fully the particulars of the monetary disasters in the Old States, and forming a conclusion as to their extent, the next thing gone, is to speculate upon their effects in California. How are we to be injured or benefited. This is the question ever suggested by man's selfishness . . .

"The news reaching us to the utter prostration of credit and confidence in New York, and the failure of so many of the principal commercial houses and banking institutions, will inevitably be followed by a tremendous crash throughout the western and southwestern States. The business relations of those States with New York are of such a character, that they must fall with the overthrow in the great commercial emporium . . .

"Money will be so tight that property must depreciate greatly in value; capital will be so tight that property must depreciate greatly in value; capital will be so hard to reach, and will command so high a premium, that most, if not all the great projects of internal improvement, must be delayed or entirely given over...

In short, a sudden and heavy revulsion will be felt, which cannot but produce much suffering and distress . . .

". . .The revulsion and distress will operate to check, or turn elsewhere this immigration. There will be no encouragement for men to go to the wilds of Iowa, Wisconsin or Nebraska, to open farms or grow grain, unless the crops will bring remunerative prices . . . The man standing on the Atlantic seaboard, and casting his eyes westward for a new home, can now be induced to stretch his vision further than the luxuriant grain fields of the Mississippi Valley. If he does, where can it rest but on California?

"Thus we take it, that the great financial pressure at the East, is going to prove ultimately of vast benefit to California. What is needed to develop the resources of our State -- What we have been languishing for during the last four years -- is population . . .

"Too many cannot come . . .

"It is true that the depression at the East will be slightly and temporarily felt on this side, in business circles, particularly in San Francisco . . . In our opinion, it will be

> . . . compensated by the check it will give to California shipments by foreign houses. Capital will be too scarce and high to risk on distant and uncertain ventures . . . our mercantile business will not be exposed to so many serious and ruinous fluctuations. And with the increase of population, our interior trade will continue to grow in extent and value, year after year, upon a permanent and profitable basis."

On February 18, 1870, the Bulletin commented upon a decision of the Supreme Court on the validity of the Legal Tender Act:

> "A CURRENCY DECISION
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> " . . . Chief Justice Chase and a majority of the Court decided that gold or its equivalent must be given in payment of all debts contracted previous to the passage of the Legal Tender Act. The decision will have but little effect in this State, because the specific contract has already, in a majority of instances provided against payment in greenbacks. But the decision of the Supreme Court is one of great moment to the country. It is estimated by the Herald that it has increased the value of mortgages held in the city of New York 20 per cent; and that it will require about eight millions more green-

backs to pay the mortgages than would have been required without this decision; and that the holders of mortgages throughout the country have gained, under this decision, not less than one hundred million.

"The validity of legal tender during and since the war, has not yet been otherwise than incidentally considered by the Supreme Court, as the question has not yet been made in the pleadings in any case before the Court. But the inference is a strong one that when the question is fairly presented, the Court, by a majority at least, will sustain the validity of the Legal Tender Act."

Four days later, February 22, 1870, the Bulletin made the following observation concerning Congressional approval of monetary depreciation:

"PROGRESS BACKWARD

"We have had news from Washington. Yesterday the House, by a large majority, passed a resolution declaring that the country needs a greater volume of currency, and instructing the Banking Committee to report a bill providing for an increase of at least fifty millions. This is progress backwards with a vengence. It

> is not only an act of folly, but a deliberate blow at our national credit. The great evil of the country, as everybody knows, is an inflated and irredeemable currency. It is the one canker sore festering at the heart of the nation. It destroys all the relations of commerce and industry, setting up an artificial standard of values, and making commercial transactions so hazardous that the energies of the country are crippled. The Government and the people have been striving hard to correct the evil, and bring the national finances to a normal standard. The national debt has been largely reduced, the price of Government bonds has rapidly advanced, and the way has been prepared for the resumption of specie payment. Yet at this time -- five years after the close of the war -- when the whole country is rejoicing over the prospect of a speedy return to the sober habits of peace times, the popular branch of the National Legislature deliberately proposes to debauch the currency, and indefinitely perpetuate the era of greenbacks!
>
> "Can folly farther go?"

On May 15, 1873, the Alta California contributed the following on the use of greenbacks:

"PUBLIC SENTIMENT AND GREENBACKS

"About a dozen interior newspapers of late have been urging the people of California to abandon their gold currency, and they have stated unequivocally that they were faithfully expressing the public opinion of the local communities in which they circulate. We are unable to comprehend, however, that there can be any better indication of public opinion in the matter of money than the public practice; and gold continues to be the general medium of exchange, and the exclusive standard of value in all the interior towns. Several interior papers tell their readers that the San Francisco bankers, importers and brokers prevent the use of legal tender notes, and seem to be grossly ignorant of the fact that the San Francisco Board of Brokers would like exceedingly well to have the same fun in the buying and selling of gold as the New Yorks Boards have. The brokers are no enemies of the greenback currency. The chief commercial banks receive paper money on deposit, and pay it to order as readily as gold. The assertion, so far as they are concerned, is not true, but if it were, how could they control the people? The idea is absurd. They

must consult the wishes of the commercial community or go down.

"Business men, generally, not only in San Francisco, but throughout the State, prefer gold, and act on their belief. But they do not object to greenbacks, for the gold notes are in greater demand than gold itself. Anybody who insists on paying a debt in paper money at the current rates, will find no serious objection. With such a willingness, why should this city be responsible for the currency of Sacramento? . . .

The editorial from the Morning Call illustrate its editorial position on the question of greenbacks at that time. On May 1, 1873, appeared the following:

"WHO WOULD BE GAINER?

"A contemporary asks this question concerning greenbacks, provided California could be made to discard the use of gold in money transactions. In the first place the men who loan money would be benefitted, for they would take notes for so many dollars, and these dollars would eventually have to be paid with gold. Again, every corporation which could pay off its workers with a depreciated currency would gain. The bankers who had been made agents for

the sale of bonds, carried large sums for the railroads. Jay Cook & Co. led all others as railroad bankers. They had a closer relation with the Government than any other house, and rarely was the question raised about the latitude of their transactions. The great trouble was, in the outset, confined to banks and bankers who were not doing a legitimate banking business. And precisely the same trouble would have overtaken nearly all of them a year ago had Jay Cook & Co. then gone down. The run upon the savings bank is not very formidable, because these institutions could enforce the thirty-day rule.

"It is to be noted, moreover, that the New York panic not only had its inception in a bank which was literally building a railroad, but it began at a time when the general business of the country was more prosperous than it had been for many previous years. The merchants, manufacturers and others who control the great volume of business have put out no flag of distress. They have no other trouble today than that which has been forced on to those banks which invited a failure from the very nature of their transactions. If a panic

in that quarter was inevitable, it could not occur at a more favorable time.

"President Grant and the Secretary of the Treasury, after consultation, came to the conclusion that the emergency did not warrant the letting out of any of the currency reserve of forty-four millions . . .

"There will be a clearing of the financial horizon shortly. Well managed banking institutions will come out all right, as for the rest, settling day might as well come now as any later period.

"Central Pacific Railroad, for instance, would gain a very large sum annually. Would the farmer be a gainer by being paid in greenbacks instead of gold? Would mechanics and ordinary laborers gain with such a change? We are unable to find any person who prefers paper, which is at a discount at some fifteen per cent, rather than gold. Indeed, if any one perfers greenbacks to gold, there is nothing in our laws to hinder him from receiving them at the present time. The only difficulty lies in making men believe that greenbacks are as good as gold. If this can be done, the transition from gold to greenbacks will be very easy. Perhaps Stanford

and his organs can accomplish this result."

On the Following day, May 2, 1873, the Call remarked that:

> "The Sacramento Record and San Francisco's Chronicle are working together at this time, trying to induce the inhabitants of California to take greenbacks and discard gold in ordinary transactions. As we understand the subject, there is nothing to hinder those persons in California who prefer greenbacks from taking them. They are in fact a 'legal tender' for all transactions where an absolute agreement is not made for the payment of gold. No legislation is required to introduce greenbacks. There is no trouble in using them if we have them. They may be purchased, however, in the Eastern States for some fifteen per cent discount. Inasmuch as our laws permit the use of greenbacks, why do not the people take them instead of gold? Simply because they have gold and it is worth more. If anyone prefers paper to gold, we certainly shall not put an obstacle in the way of receiving it. It is simply a question whether men who employ laborers can induce those laborers to take eighty-five cents instead of a dollar. If grocers and

butchers wish to take greenbacks, we shall make no objection. If our farmers prefer payments to be made for their wheat in greenbacks, this is their business, not ours. But after all, would it not be best, inasmuch as the Central Pacific Railroad Company is believed to be at the bottom of this new departure, to try the experiment of paying off its own men with greenbacks, before asking others to do so?"

On October 28, 1873, the Bulletin advocated the remonetization of silver:

"RE-MONETIZING SILVER AND SPECIE PAYMENTS.

"While the recent financial Panic in the East has demonstrated the necessity of a speedy return to specific payments, no means have yet been put into operation to bring about that desirable result. The ablest financiers of the country have been ventilating their ideas freely, suggesting the plans as diversified as numerous. Simultaneous with this agitation for the resumption of specie payments, the rapid depreciation of silver as a commodity, caused partly by an increased production at home and partly by the glutting of markets abroad, is creating considerable alarm in financial circles . . .

"It is a significant fact that in all ages, silver has played the most important part as specie. It is true that during the last two or three generations it has been extensively demonetized by various nations previously using it, and gold adopted in its stead as the principal legal tender; but the production of gold bullion is rapidly decreasing -- so rapidly as to suggest a compulsory early resumption of silver as a legal tender for all sums by those nations who have heretofore demonetized it. The present combination of events in this country is probably only hastening it forward a little faster toward that era."

On November 6, 1877, the Examiner blamed partisan political activity for the passage of a silver bill:

"THE SILVER DOLLAR BILL

"An unexpected and astonishing victory was won in the lower House of Congress yesterday, by the passage of the Bill to make the silver dollar of 412½ grains legal tender for all debts and dues, public and private, except in cases where contracts provide otherwise. It passed by a vote of 163 to 34, under a suspension of the rules. Congressman Davis of this city, Radical, was the only member from this

> Coast who voted in the negative . . . Secretary Sherman is vehement in condemnation of the measure, and predicts that, should it finally become a law there would succeed in three months an universal clamor for its repeal. He thinks it will cause a rise in gold and depreciation in greenbacks . . . But there is one effect its passage by the House will surely have -- and that is the influence the State elections in several States to-day . . . As a Democratic measure . . . it is certain to largely advantage the Democratic ticket in every State . . . Whether, in the face of such victories, which would be viewed somewhat a popular approval of the Bill, the Radicals in the Senate will join to defeat it, or, in case of its passage by that body, Mr. Hayes should then refuse it, is problematical. The politicians must learn that the popular will is mightier than they are, and they must at length succumb."

The Morning Call of July 1, 1878, reviews the "packing" of the Supreme Court with greenback advocates over the previous decade, and finds that the greenback controversy is no longer an issue:

"LEGAL TENDER

"The New York Times has discovered that the Act authorizing the issue of legal tender was only saved from being unconstitutional by its urgent necessity. The original Act of 1862, it says, was passed by a large majority but passed reluctantly. The Supreme Court passed upon the question in 1869. . . in the negative. Chief Justice Chase, Judges Field, Grier, Nelson and Clifford held this view. Not satisfied with the decision, Congress increased the number of Judges from eight to nine, and the President appointed the new Judge with a view to reverse this decision. Judge Grier resigned, and this made room for another greenback advocate. Thus reconstructed, the Supreme Court granted a rehearing of the case, and three of the old Judges and the two new ones constituting a majority, affirmed the constitutionality of the Act as applicable to all contracts, without the distinction of date . . . The decision was rendered in 1870, five years after the war had ceased, and eight years after the first issue of legal tenders. The Times, in its war on national currency, attempts to belittle this decision by reference to the admission of Judge Miller,

who wrote the affirmative opinion that the law was the result of necessity . . . The decision, affirming the constitutionality of the Legal Tender Act, was given nearly eight years ago. Since that time legal tenders have appreciated from a discount of twenty to thirty per cent to par with coin. The objections which then existed against greenbacks as a legal tender for debts have been removed by their appreciation. In 1870 the Court affirmed that a creditor who had loaned gold twenty years before must accept greenbacks in payment. The arguments advanced by the two new Judges were specious and not borne out by existing facts."

The "free and unlimited" coinage of silver was analyzed by the Alta California, February 6, 1885:

"FREE SILVER

"At the Denver Silver Convention a great debate occurred over the insertion of the word "free" in the resolutions calling for the unlimited coinage of silver. As finally passed the resolution demanded that the coinage of silver should be both 'Free and unlimited,' but at the same time there seems to be a disagreement among the members of the late Convention as to what the words signify. Some assume that

they are more rhetorical than anything else, while the radical silver men claim that they mean exactly what they say, and that the Government, abandoning its present policy of buying silver in the market, shall coin silver dollars, at actual cost, for every person who presents the bullion . . . The objection to the coinage of standard dollars on the plan proposed is that it would make the United States the dumping ground for all the foreign silver. Eighty-five cents in gold will buy enough European silver to make a standard dollar, and after being brought here and coined, it is by law exchangeable for a gold dollar, worth fifteen cents more in foreign markets. Under the Bland law, it is the government that makes the profit, while with 'free' coinage it will be the owner of the bullion. The advocates of the proposal thought it would be a splendid thing for the silver miners to be able to coin their silver, instead of selling it to the Government, but on trial the advantage would rather be with the speculators, for the silver could be brought in from abroad faster than it could be dug out of the ground."

The Bulletin of May 11, 1885, registered a disagreement with the view of Senator Sherman on the gold-silver issue of that time:

"WHAT INCREASING THE VALUE OF THE SILVER DOLLAR MEANS

"The position which Senator Sherman takes on Silver does not appear to be as broad as it might be. He is reported to be in favor of the coinage of gold and silver on equal terms, but he thinks that the Standard Dollar should be increased in bullion value until it is equal to a Gold Dollar. The effort to base silver legislation on the proposition that the Silver Industry is entitled to encouragement, has a tendency rather to belittle the question. In the abstract point of view, Silver deserves the fostering care of the Government, just as much as coal or iron. But this is not the controlling consideration. The silver question is of absorbing interest to every debtor in the country,no matter whether he or it be an individual, a City, the State or the Nation.

"The proposition of Mr. Sherman is to add to all debts the difference now existing between Gold and Silver. We do not think that that

would be just or that the people would stand it. Silver down is only a convertible term for Gold up. Gold is up because of the unfriendly legislation against Silver. The metallic adjustment disturbed by the intrusion of Bismarck, without much knowledge of what he was about, is certain to be restored, for there is not enough Gold in the world to go around. In the United States the two metals are all right if the dictionaries and those who are merely actuated by selfish motives will let them alone.

" . . . If the Standard Dollar were made equal in value to the Gold Dollar, variation in the price of silver would send either one or the other out of the country. If silver were to go up, it would be sent to the melting pot and exported . . . A rise of a penny in the ounce would be sufficient to deprive us at any time of small change . . . When the policy of other nations of civilization is crystalized we will be able to place our financial system on an enduring basis, but not much before."

Claiming that cheap money was the cause of "uneasy capital," Examiner of June 29, 1885, presented the following argument:

"UNEASY CAPITAL

"It is said that there is more capital at the present time seeking investment in Europe and the United States than any period in a quarter of a century. The growing abundance of money, and the credit, therefore (sic) makes (sic) it cheap and decreases (sic) the opportunities for employing it at a satisfactory profit, without incurring the imminent risk of losing the whole . . . For a time high rates of interest were obtained for untold millions of English money loaned in the United States. But that golden age has passed by, probably never to return. The increasing wealth of this country has already forced much of that European money to seek other channels, and has competed with the remainder until now the rates on investments that are regarded as absolutely safe are down to the English level, if not below it . . . Such a condition of things naturally appeals to the speculative impulse in the breasts of thousands who would resent the imputation that they are speculators. They abhor gambling, but are content to take what they called a moderate risk on the principal for the sake of obtaining something better

than the minimum of interest. Mining ventures are regarded as hazardous, and manufactures in which the holder has no control are deemed by many as less so. So money remains idle and cheap, and a lethargy has fallen upon the trade."

A comparison of United States Treasury figures of the year 1885 and those of today is made possible, in some respects, by a Morning Call editorial of July 15, that year.

"A TALK WITH NEW YORK BANKERS

"That was a cool proposition made by several New York bankers to Treasurer Jordan to loan the Government $20,000,000 in gold to save the Government the necessity of using its own silver money in payment of debts. Treasurer Jordan pointed out the effect of making payments exclusively in gold while the Government by law was compelled to receive silver. The gold surplus, he said, had become reduced to less than $20,000,000, and the drain was still going on. The Treasury Department elects to redeem greenbacks with gold, unless silver is especially desired. It pays demands in greenbacks, which thus become the equivalent of gold. Silver thus discredited and being in danger of further disgrace remains idle in the vaults. The Treasury vaults now contain $68,000,000 in excess of certificates.

This $68,000,000 is the total of idle silver money. There is $100,000,000 in gold kept as reserve fund to redeem greenbacks with. There is no reason in law why $50,000,000 of the $68,000,000 in silver should not be regarded as held in reserve to redeem greenbacks with. The New York banks are hoarding gold as a speculation. They are trying to effect a corner in the gold market. If they succeed in carrying out their policy of demonetizing silver, the market value of gold will increase. The banks will have every man by the throat who owes a dollar . . . The fluctuations of money are marked by the rise and fall of merchandise. The fact has been established that gold has appreciated in its relation to merchandise within twenty years.

The appreciation is nearly equivalent to the difference between the market value of silver. It follows, therefore, that silver has been a truer measure of value than gold. Discredited as it has been by hostile legislation both in this country and in Europe, it has not fallen much below its former relation to merchandise. Treasurer Jordan had the sense to inform the New York bankers that he was not borrowing money on the Government's account. The Treasury was

amply able to meet its own obligations. But it might not be able to hoard $68,000,000 in money without some inconvenience. Either the banks must let go their gold or the Treasury would pay a portion of its obligations in silver. When Congress meets the question of gold or of gold and silver will come up for solution. It cannot be put off much longer."

On the same day, July 15, 1885, the Chronicle disagreed with Eastern bankers on the question of monometalism:

"GOLD AND SILVER

"The conference which took place on Monday between the Treasurer of the United States and representatives of the associated banks of New York let in a little more light on the question of monometalism . . . While the banks, through their organs, have been proclaiming far and wide that the country will be ruined unless the single gold standard is maintained, the Treasurer of the United States informs them -- what indeed they must have known before -- that the country is drifting steadily toward the practical establishment of a silver basis.

"What do the bankers expect Congress to do? Congress cannot create gold, any more than it can create potatoes. All the legislation in

the world will not stop the steadily increasing decline in the product of the metal. And if the decline continues the merchants cannot pay duties in gold, and Government cannot pay its debts in a coin which it does not receive. What will follow? Merchants and Government will have to do the next best thing -- pay their debts in silver. Will that be fatal? We cannot see how. If Congress were to listen to New York bankers and stop the coinage of silver there might come a time when the merchants would have neither gold nor silver to pay their duties in, and Government would be unable to comply with the law and pay its interest in coin. The result would be a necessary recourse to irredeemable paper money.

"So far as the people at large are concerned it matters not one jot to them whether the public interest is paid in gold or in silver, so long as it is paid in money which will purchase the necessities of life and discharge debts. They have no preference for gold over silver, or for silver over gold. Whatever laws may be passed, and whatever plans may be adopted by banks and clearing-houses, the exchanges of the country will always be effected in the metal

which is most abundant at the time . . . Now silver is the plentiful metal and the Government will shortly have to pay its debts in silver. By and by, perhaps, new gold mines will be opened, and the ratio may again be reversed . . . The New York bankers are needlessly worrying themselves over a contingency which is inevitable and which involves no real danger. The only possible effect of their present figets will be a hastening of the period when gold will command a premium . . .

" . . . The sooner the Government takes the bull by the horns and begins to pay out silver, not only in payment of salaries, but as the interest on the public debt, the sooner will the agony end . . . A premium on gold is a measure of distrust, and there are no real grounds for distrust, except those which are created by the indiscreet talk of Eastern bankers."

On April 18, 1892, the Chronicle exposed a joker in the reasoning of a contemporary:

"A GOLDBUG contemporary says that he thinks that 'silver and gold should form the basis of our money system,' but adds that 'the 30 per cent gap between gold and silver must be bridged somehow' before that desirable end can be reached.

Does our contemporary fancy that such an end can be reached if the creditor is permitted to specify which money shall be a legal tender in payment of debts?

"If it does it must have formed a singular impression of the cunning and rapacity of the average money lender . . . It is ingenious, too, in its attempt to create the impression that there could be such a thing as a silver legal tender dollar for specific purposes. If the creditor can force his terms . . . there will be only one kind of money, and that will be the scarcest, for every storekeeper and every man who gives credit in any form will be sure to put on his billheads, 'Terms, gold coin,' and claim that he has a specific contract for payment in that sort of money."

The Bulletin of February 5, 1893, minimized the importance of the supply of gold in its relation to the value of money:

"THE GOLD SUPPLY

"A newspaper which seems to have no respect for the intelligence of any man who does not see things as it sees them, argues that if the present prospect of an increase in the gold supply is realized, there will soon be money enough for

all money purposes. How long it would take to bring the supply to a satisfactory point is not stated. If we average the present increase in supply over some former period at $30,000,000 a year, and assume that this increase will be maintained, the amount to be added to the world's stock in ten years would be about equal to the fluctuation in estimate of what the present stock really is. At this rate it would take a long time to supply the vacuum in our money stock created by the demonetization of silver.

"The question Mr. Cleveland is forcing upon the public is not whether free coinage shall be given to silver, but whether the United States shall declare formally for the single gold standard. Between the free coinage of silver under present conditions and the adoption of the single gold standard as the fixed policy of the Nation, is the great body of our people who hope to see the double standard restored by international action. This vast body of conservative men realize that if one country after another adopts the gold standard and joins in the scramble for that metal, its appreciation will be so rapid that a general payment of debts in gold may be impossible. It is the calamity of

something like general bankruptcy that they hope to avoid by timely legislation, national and international, to restore the discredited half of the world's money to its former status as money. The matter of a few millions, more or less, of gold production cuts no figure in the money problem."

A plan that would appease gold, silver, and paper-money advocates, theoretically, was reviewed by the Bulletin, January 2, 1899:

"ANOTHER CURRENCY PLAN

"Mr. George Stewart Brown, a prominent member of the Baltimore bar, submits through the Springfield Republican a plan of currency reform which he thinks may be consistently supported by gold monometalaists, free coinage advocates and supporters of the plan of issuing currency on bank assets. His plan is this: Retire all notes of whatever description of the denomination of $5 or under and issue instead gold and silver coins, the $5 and $2.50 gold pieces and the silver dollar, half and quarter.

"Under Mr. Brown's plan the total amount of currency retired would be as follows: Greenbacks, $77,711,863; treasury notes, $57,061,870; national bank notes, $75,516,982; silver cer-

tificates, $164,976,633. It is urged that this plan should please the gold men because it retires $134,774,733 in greenbacks and treasury notes which are considered to be redeemable in gold at the option of the holder. At the same time Mr. Brown adds, 'We would then have a currency "saturated with specie," the delight of the bimetalists and a great benefit in times of panic, and we would have an increased use of silver, which would please the free-coinage men.'

"The Republicans object to the plan on the ground that the people prefer paper money . . . If all the currency in the country below the denomination of $10 were in specie, the masses of the people would be little affected by a money scare . . . The gold $5 coin and the silver fractional money would be a thing itself, not something to be exchanged for money at the convenience of banks or Government. There would be very little hardship in getting people used to handling coin in sums below $10 . . .

PART 5

PROGRESS

For the twentieth-century reader, before whom stretch the literary limitless horizons of the pure and applied sciences, the following editorials, taken from the era of the dawn of technology, should be particularly interesting. Perhaps no better gauge exists of San Francisco's editorial calibre than the press commentary on the early schemes and dreams, achievements, promises and disappointments of science and invention. The most intense and international rivalry existed; the development and construction by the French of the Suez Canal started an editorial demand for a Panama Canal; editors worried over the construction of the Atlantic cable, but never for a moment doubted its practicability or that ultimately Yankee technicians would "teach the Old World a lesson."

The Atlantic cable was the materialization of a dream financed by San Francisco millions. A delay in its operation brought the following comment from the Bulletin, October 11, 1858:

"THE ATLANTIC CABLE NOT WORKING YET

"The news brought by the Overland stage informs us that up to the 14th of September the Atlantic Telegraph was not in working order, and for several days anterior to that date communication by the wire between the two continents has ceased. A rumor had prevailed at the East that the Cable had parted. This was positively contradicted by the Company's agent at Trinity Bay, who also stated that the trouble did not originate in any destruction or impairment of the insulation, but from a failure of the instruments to work as effectually as had been anticipated, which necessitated a substitution of others, and a consequent extension of time before the line could be thrown open to the public. . . .

"'Hope deferred maketh the heart sick.' These frequent disappointments suffered by the public in their expectation of seeing the Telegraph thrown open for general business are causing a grand diminution of confidence. . . .

"In the present state of uncertainty, it is hazardous to express any opinion as to the final result. Something seems to be the matter, of a serious nature, to have caused so long a delay in opening the telegraph business; and the news

> just come to hand would indicate that the difficulty had progressed from bad to worse. Yet we have strong hopes -- we cannot quite say confidence -- that all will be well in the end. In managing steam and lightning, the Yankees are undoubtedly 'ahead of all creation;' and because in the hands of an old-fogy old countryman the telegraph should have been inoperative, we regard as little proof of its final impracticability. Under Hughes' management, the Cable will yet be reduced to perfect obedience, and the fame of 'Young America' receive another grand accession. If this should so turn out, we would not be sorry that the temporary difficulty in working the Cable occurred. It does us good when Jonathan gets a chance to teach the Old World a lesson."

The following from the Alta California of January 4,1862, is illustrative of the progress of the San Francisco press itself:

> "Thirteen years ago to-day, the Alta California was first published under its present name. Thirteen years is a long time in California. Into that brief space events have been crowded which would require half a century elsewhere for development. From the most feeble beginning the Golden State now occupies a front

rank in the Confederacy, and to-day is the head of the financial system of the United States. Large and handsome cities, prosperous towns and thriving villages have sprung up around us. The wilderness of thirteen years ago has . . . been converted into a smiling garden.

"Since the days when the lamented Gilbert penned his salutatory, the wooden shanty, and the hand-press, and the tiny weekly sheet, have passed away. In their place is the largest paper in California, only equalled in the number of its publications by one journal in the whole world -- the New York Herald, which like it has a Sunday issue, employing in its various departments over sixty persons, and carried on at an annual expense of one hundred thousand dollars."

Transportation was a problem subject to controversy in early-day San Francisco. The editor of the Alta California treated the subject in the following manner, January 29,1862:

"CITY RAILROADS

"The prejudice against city railroads seems to be gradually disappearing. The property owners on Montgomery street have changed front,and the majority is now in favor of rail cars in that street. It must be admitted that city railroads are a great convenience. If it be the will

of the people, let the city be gridironed over and over again; run the roads lengthwise and crosswise; up and down; over hills, through valleys -- even pile them up, one on top of the other, if must be. Walking is a species of locomotion that belongs only to a rude age. Let us all ride wherever we go."

On March 15, 1870, the Alta California criticised American indifference to the submarine-telegraph question:

"THE GIGANTIC STRIDES OF THE SUBMARINE TELEGRAPH

"It is scarcely ten years since the first cable was put in successful operation, and yet, in so short a period of time, it has been improved and multiplied so that it is fair to predict in one or two years more the world will be encircled by the telegraph wire ten or twenty times over. England, that made the first experiment, has realized her hopes beyond the most sanguine expectations -- both politically and financially. In consequence, she has formed a new project of laying a new trans-Atlantic cable, smaller and lighter than those heretofore used, at a cost of not to exceed $250,000. Also a scheme for connecting England with all her colonies by telegraph in a contemplation.

". . . The profits which England capitalists make by such enterprises, more than double or

treble the expenses. . . . England's object in establishing telegraphic communications with all parts of the world, is one of financial policy and not simply governmental.

"Such being the profitableness of cable-laying, why is it that American capitalists are slothful and seemingly indifferent in the matter? Can it be that the same enterprise should bear a golden harvest under English, and not American management. Have we not capital, labor and material of all kinds in abundance to accomplish as much as our English cousins? . . . But the country will never grow rich until we make foreign nations pay for international enterprises in the same manner as England and other nations do. . . . Are we not proud of the name of a great and independent nation? But are we, in fact, independent, when we have to ask foreign companies to transport our news, carry our freight, and give us a passage? Is it simply a matter of astonishment to see the American people possessed of all the elements of national greatness, and as immense territory, sitting with folded arms, apparently indifferent, while foreign nations cluster around them like busy bees and enrich themselves by their treasure."

The Bulletin of April 15, 1870, lauded the "great work" in the construction and operation of the Suez Canal:

"SUEZ CANAL

"This grand work appears to be as successful as its most sanguine friends expect at so early a day after its completion. . . . The statements of Engineers have been closely realized, the depth of the water continues even, and sufficient to pass safely some of the largest steamers under a regulated speed. The number of steamships passing through the canal is increasing. The Dutch are building a fleet for commerce with the East Indian possessions, and it is said that a Russian line from the Black Sea to Bombay is about to be put on, with contract by one house at Moscow to ship 4,000 bales of cotton a week. The magnificent improvements made at Marseilles, in anticipation of traffic through the canal, will apparently not go without use."

A short cut from ocean to ocean was thought necessary by the Alta California. On July 9, 1873, that paper made the following suggestion:

"A DARIEN CANAL

". . . To avoid the long and dangerous doubling of Cape Horn is now and for many years has been, the question of merchants, sailors and even Governments. The vast trade of eastern Asia . . . is sufficient to make the question

of an international canal one of immense interest and importance. . . .

"The present administration has been rather persistent in its efforts to solve the question favorably. The completion and grand success of the Suez Canal has so affected trade and commerce that a passage across the American isthmus has become a necessity of our commerce and trade. Without it, the odds are greatly against us. Already goods are imported to the City of New York, in ships from the East, through the Suez Canal. By location, the trade of Central Asia should be ours. . . . We must have a means of taking our ships, with their cargoes unbroken, from ocean to ocean, and to avoid the dangers, the distance, the time required, and consequently, great expense, of voyages around Cape Horn. . . .

". . . Our country is able to construct this great work and should do so, provided other nations should decline to unite with us in it. This, we think, would be vastly better. Let it be, when constructed, an international work consecrated to eternal peace, and not to be interfered with by any nation for warlike purposes; but a portion of an ocean path dedicated to the uses of commerce and trade for all nations, and

for all time to come. Let international treaties secure the absolute freedom from warlike interruptions."

The world-wide interest, speculation and skepticism caused by the introduction of the "iron ship" was felt in San Francisco. Said the Alta California of August 1, 1873:

"IRON SHIPS

"It seems to be second nature of the Anglo-Saxon race to mount a hobby, and regardless of scientific facts or principles, ride to destruction with the bald assertion of keeping up with the requirements of the period.

"England discovered a few years since that her ship-building timber was about exhausted, and without delay commenced the building of iron ships; we might say forced to do so or lose her standing as the first maritime nation. Just at that time the United States was making broad strides toward monopolizing the carrying trade of the world. Our fleet sailing clipper ships were seen in every port and upon every ocean. Our ship yards were full of busy life and vitality. Civil war overtook us at a time when our supremacy of the ocean was soon to be an established fact. How quickly the ship-building interest of England, led by the Lairds, came forward and furnished their Alhambras to destroy

our commerce,has passed into history, there being but little left of the vast fleet of ships, handiwork of the McKays, Webbs, Webstervelts, and others of our ship-builders.

"The New York Herald, a few months since . . . made the assertion,that out of 130 steamships plying between that port and Europe, more than one half were 'floating coffins,' and totally unsafe as passenger ships. It is not our design to condemn en masse all steamships built of iron, but to call attention to the manner in which they are not generally built in order to obtain the greatest possible speed . . . all principles of science, and mechanics, go for nothing, but the advantage of great length and narrow breadth of beam,is alone governing principle of the construction of English steamships. These ships are provided with engines of immense power, and forced through the seas upon the same principle of velocipede. Just as long as there is no breakage of machinery, it is safe enough; but once lose their propelling power and such a built ship is wholly at the mercy of the seas.

". . . The great fault we are committing now, and which we have adhered to as an established fact for years past, is, that we cannot

compete with John Bull, on account of his superior advantages in building iron ships, and that the days of wooden ships are past and gone forever. . . . It is undeniable that the Chamber of Commerce of the City of New York for years past have been unable to get a resolution through that body which favored the restoration of American commerce; and why? Because the influence of the foreign steamship lines was, and is today, sufficiently strong to prevent such action.

"Hence it is, that any attempt to establish an American line of steamships is hooted at as foolish and absurd by leading newspapers of New York City; and it is only as they see the 'handwriting on the wall,' that they dare protest against further sacrifices of life by means of 'floating coffins.'"

Scientific or other projected expeditions to the North Pole were frowned upon rather than encouraged by the local press. The Alta California of September 13, 1873, published the following editorial comment:

"NORTH-POLE-SEEKING-FOOLS

"Who will be the next fool anxious to throw away his life amid the howling tempests, white bears, walruses, icebergs and Esquimaux of Baffin's Bay, Smith's Sound and desolate Greenland?

We do not suppose that all the fools are dead yet, and here is a chance for them. But we are inclined to the belief that there were more rascals than fools on board the Polaris, . . . One man, Bissell, vain and self-esteeming, because he was learned in the sciences, seems to have been a turbulent marplot, denouncing as totally unfit to command, Captain Hall, who has spent so many years in these inhospitable climes and could live wherever an Esquimau could exist. And, apparently, there was treason and conspiracy, and, we can scarcely avoid the belief, murder, also, connected with the miserable disaster. . . .Hall lies frozen in his tomb of ice, and half the company of the Polaris are probably in the cold waves of those desolate seas, and the truth has died with them.[1]

"It might be asked with reason in this connection, qui bono? What good can come of this fearful amount of suffering -- of this record of property wasted, of valuable lives lost? What can compensate for the terrible fate of Sir John Franklin, his staunch ships, and his hundreds of gallant crews -- lost in the wilderness of snows and ice, storms and tempests, cold

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1. Hall made his second trip to the Artic regions in 1871, in the Polaris, where he died at Thank God Harbour.

> and starvation? Kane's life was sacrificed at command of his Government in this fruitless search after what is not known to exist, and which could never be of any real benefit to society, to commerce or science had he been able to reach his supposed open sea, and linger on the point where there is neither latitude, longitude, nor anything else of value. Captain Hall lies appropriately enough in his icy urn, for his bold heart was enamoured of life there. . . . And when the Juanita and the Tigress shall have ended their cruising after the shipless Buddington and crew, successful or unsuccessful, will our government again make itself the people participes criminis in this useless, if not sinful, trifling with human life? Who will volunteer as the next North Pole Fool?"

All San Francisco editors were enthusiastic over the prospects of having an Isthmus Canal. The Bulletin of August 16, 1876, said:

> "THE LATEST ISTHMUS CANAL PROJECT
>
> "A dispatch received yesterday from Panama states that the pass across the Andes, advocated by Senor Gogorza as suitable for this inter-oceanic canal project, has been proved to exist. . . .

"The farmers of California are recognizing the importance of an inter-oceanic canal, if their main reliance is to be upon supplying the European markets with breadstuffs. The Grangers of Yolo county have passed a series of resolutions on the subject, inviting their Sister Grangers of California to act with them in pressing the matter upon the attention of Congress. The Yolo Grangers calculate that in a favorable season the freight of wheat to Europe from California, Oregon and Washington Territory amounts to $30,000,000. There can be no doubt that, if the farmers of the Pacific Coast desire to retain their present hold on the European wheat market, an important factor in the proposition is the construction of an inter-oceanic canal by which ten or twelve thousand miles of ocean transportation may be saved. . . ."

A proposal that the trip to the North Pole be made in a balloon was not taken seriously by the editor of the Examiner, January 15, 1877:

"A BOLD PROPOSITION

"A Frenchman proposes to reach the North Pole by means of a balloon. All other methods of traveling in the Arctic region having failed, recourse, he says, must be had to aerostation.

By this means alone can the hitherto insurmountable difficulties experienced in attempting to traverse the mountains of ice which bar the way to the desired object be overcome, Captain Nares, he maintains, might have reached the Pole in a very few hours had he been provided with aerostatic appliances. Whether it would have been prudent in him on reaching the Pole to have effected a descent is another question, for some difficulty of a serious nature might have arisen as to the return journey; but he might at all events have passed over it and taken observations which could hardly fail to have been of great interest and value. Mr. Scott, under the circumstances, should consider whether, instead of attempting to sell his ingenious invention to Prince Bismarck, it might not be worth his while to prove its utility by a voyage to the Pole in the first instance."

The following from the Bulletin of January 16, 1880, even if not typical, is suggestive of the local reception accorded the early efforts of Thomas A. Edison:

"EDISON'S METHODS

"Periodically the report goes forth from Edison's laboratory at Menlo Park, N. Y., that he has discovered some new and cheap method of utilizing electricity for illuminating purposes,

as a substitute for gas. For weeks before his so-called invention is publicly displayed, a systematic use of the metropolitan press of the East is made to bring his operations conspicuously before the public. Then follows a public exhibition which is ordinarily sufficiently satisfactory, so far as external appearances go, to weaken the faith of the timid and impressible holders of gas stock, and cause a temporary panic in such securities. But this panic is invariably short-lived. Mr. Edison suddenly discovers a weak spot in his lamp that makes it unreliable and impracticable. The announcement is naturally followed by a reaction in favor of gas stocks. This program has been repeated over and over again. . . . The columns of the Eastern papers teemed with descriptions of it. . . . Then came the regular exhibition and the tumble in gas stocks. And now comes the mournful story of those who had more fear of the success of Edison's lamp than faith in the value of their gas stock, that the lamp won't stand the intense heat. . . .

"There is what appears to be a vast amount of scientific charlatanism about some of Edison's methods. For instance, the claim credited to

him that he is the discoverer of electric illumination by means of carbon vacua, is due to Edward A. King, who patented the idea in England in 1847. Then the announcement was made in connection with the incandescent carbon lamp of Edison's, that he had so improved the Sprengel air-pump as to enable him 'to obtain with it, in twenty-five minutes, a vacuum which physicists had previously required forty-five hours to produce.'It turns out that the English manufacturers 'have for some years manufactured and sold Sprengel pumps capable of producing high vacua in fifteen minutes.' As a scientific investigator and inventor, Mr. Edison is not original. He is at best an adapter of other's ideas.

"Mr. Edison makes no concealment of the fact that all his operations in regard to the electric light are the property and controlled by a company. The main use to which these operations have thus far been devoted has apparently been the manipulation of gas stocks.The public will begin to consider them as only intended for that purpose and treat them accordingly, unless something tangible is soon evolved."

Relative to the use of the air brake,the Bulletin of May 25, 1880, commented as follows:

"THE AIR BRAKE

"The accident which has cast gloom over the community is one that was common enough in the early days of railroading, but of late has become very rare. . . . The uselessness of the old detached brake has been demonstrated in many fearful sacrifices of human life. The air-brake of late invention is designed to give the engineer full control of his train. With it he can always slow down or come to a full stop whenever he pleases. The battle of the brakes cannot be said to have been brought to a close. Which is the best brake is a question which has yet to be decided. But the ordinary air-brake is competent to speedily arrest a train. If the train upon which such terrible destruction of life occurred had been supplied with it, no accident, most likely, would have taken place, provided the engineer knew his business.

"There is a line of cars in this city on which a like accident is not impossible. The steam cars connected with the Geary-street cable road depend on the detached or hand brakes. There are sometimes three or four cars in the trains. There is a short curve from Point Lobos

avenue into First avenue. Derailment, under circumstances similar to those at Felton,[1] might therefore take place. . . . if the trains in question are not supplied with the air-brake, they ought not be left much longer without them. . . ."

The Bulletin of April 18, 1882, published the following comment relative to changes in construction of ships:

"THE COMING SHIP

"The modification of the sailing ship is now almost certain. The tendency has been noted for some time. Attention was recently called to the new whalers with auxiliary steam power, one of which has just been completed in this city. A merchant ship is now being built in Bath, Me., for the San Francisco trade, of 1000-ton burden, to have auxiliary steam power. This will be a pioneer ship in the new class. . . . One of the steam whalers which recently came around Cape Horn, from New Bedford, when off the Cape, 'walked right away' from the fleetest merchant ship bound the same way . . . what the sailing ship needs is some way of getting out of the 'doldrums' . . . ."

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1. On May 24, 1880, a Southern Pacific train was derailed in rounding a curve at Felton, Sixteen persons were killed and forty injured, due to failure of the detached brake.

The Examiner of July 19, 1882, announced:

"De Lesseps' Panama Canal construction is going on remarkably well, all reports of an interested character to the contrary notwithstanding. Dredgers have been at work for some time making the sea entrance to the canal. About $500,000 have been expended on great dredging machines, purchased in our country. By October of next year the contractors are required by heavy bonds to have eight miles of canal dug the full depth and width from the Aspinwall side. On the Pacific side work has been going on for some months on nine miles of the route let to contractors. In less than five years the canal will be ready for traffic, and we shall want to run down and witness the opening ceremonies."

Two canal projects are cited in the following from the Examiner of May 23, 1883:

"STRANGE SCHEMES

"While the United States are projecting wonderful commercial enterprises, in the shape of inter-oceanic canals and ship railways, the genius of European experiment is not less restless and adventurous. We are to have a waterway across the Florida peninsula, connecting the Mississippi and the sea, and a railway that will

carry ships over the Isthmus of Tehauntepec. These undertakings, supplemented by the Panama Canal, would naturally be considered the great commercial marvels of the age. But whether stimulated by our enterprise and jealous of the reputation of engineers like De Lesseps and Eads, or actuated by the spirit of improvement which is transforming the world, England possesses as comprehensive an undertaking, which involves alike the fulfillment of prophecy and the revival of the prosperity of Palestine. It is no less than the projection of a canal through the Plain of Esdraelon, admitting the waters of the Mediterranean in the Valley of the Jordan, south of the sea of Galilee, and connecting the Dead Sea with the Gulf of Arabia. There is an ancient prophecy which promises that at some time the desert east of the Jordan shall be covered with water. It is now a barren waste of land, in many respects resembling the cactus-bearing desolation east of the Colorado river in Arizona. The purpose of the enterprise is to give impetus to manufactures and trade in Palestine. What there is to invite the immense expenditure necessary to accomplish the vast undertaking is quite another question. An American would look upon it as a scheme barren of possibilities, except in

so far as easy access to Jerusalem would attract tourists to the wonderful place which have not only Bible histories but are also the marvel of oriental legends. But, then, the idea of the plains of Jordan becoming a lake is no more wonderful than is the certainty of ships penetrating the jungles of Darien or spanning the Isthmus of Tehauntepec; yet a pathway for commerce of the world through these apparently inaccessible regions may now be regarded as an accomplished fact."

On February 16,1884, the Examiner defended American construction of naval ships:

"AMERICAN STEEL CRUISERS

". . . A few months ago several American newspapers afflicted with Anglomania, copied with approving delight a statement made by a British naval officer that the new steel cruisers Chicago and Atlanta were planned in ignorance, and when completed would prove wholly inefficient in naval combat. This kind of talk should be taken with a good many large grains of allowance for prejudice.Speaking on the same subject a few days ago an American navy officer . . . expressed the opinion that the Atlanta and the Chicago would, when completed, be the best war ship afloat. He referred to the fact that the

English naval officer sneered at the Hartford and Wabash, belonging to a class of first-class wooden frigates which the United States constructed many years before the late war. The English,after criticizing everything,very wisely adopted the same plan for their own navy.When the first American monitor was sent to sea, the English navy officers were so amused that they had to take medicine to repress their laughter at the 'cheese box on a raft;' but today, the turret system, introduced by Ericson, has been adopted by every progressive nation of the world.

"Men of good clear judgement believe that the new American steel cruisers will over-match in speed the finest sailing iron ships of European navies,and will be as effective in artillery as the heavier vessels of the British Navy. Recent experiments with graded power giving the greatest force in explosion, have shown that a six-inch shot can pierce eleven inches of steel armor. The eight- or ten-inch guns of the new cruisers will be able to send a shot through the armor of any vessel that floats. It is expected that the Atlanta or Chicago may be pierced by shot clear through. The armor is not put on the cruiser to protect the men from injury, but it is thick in certain places to protect the

vital parts of the ship. With machinery below the water-line, the magazine fully protected, and with engines capable of driving the ship at a high rate of speed, the Chicago or Atlanta may excel in point of efficiency the finest ships now floating. It will be a great day for the United States when our Navy shall be respected at home and abroad."

Canal comment by Ambrose Bierce appeared in the Examiner of April 29, 1894:

". . . Whatever may be the value of the canal to the country, in a commercial sense; in a military sense, it would be a permanent peril. In case of war with any of the great European powers -- always possible, periodically probable -- we should indubitably lose it, for . . . we have not a navy strong enough for its defense. What its possession by an enemy strong enough to take it would mean to us nobody need be told. . . .

". . . loss of the Nicaragua canal would not subject us to invasion. But held by a powerful enemy -- to whom, even in peace, it would be a temptation to quarrel with us -- it would enable him to concentrate great fleets of warships in the Atlantic or Pacific at will, applying unhindered that first principle of strategy:

"Bring masses of your forces against fractions of your enemy. The Nicaragua canal is no

toy.The cost of construction is nothing to haggle about, but in the cost of maintenance must be reckoned that of a new and invincible navy."

The next day, April 30, 1894, the Call took issue with Bierce's opinion:

"TAKING CHANCES

"A writer whose vagaries the Examiner passes through its editorial rooms without endorsement, thereby leaving the public to infer that in its opinion the public is a more competent editor than itself, agrees with Senator Davis that the construction of the Nicaragua canal would be a permanent peril for the United States. It might happen that some great naval power would take possession of the canal and hold it. This implies that while the United States is not strong enough to hold possession of the canal, with every opportunity to fortify it, another nation may route us out of fortifications, canal and all. In war almost anything is possible. But most nations are willing to take some chances and accomplish great purposes."

Proof that the wisdom of the past sometimes fails to stand the test of the present is supplied in the following from the Call of May 20, 1894:

"THE FLYING MACHINE PROBLEM

"The well-known engineer, W. O. Chanute, has embodied in a volume the result of several years' study of the flying-machine problem. . . . The first position which he states is that the naked problem of aerial navigation has been solved -- that is to say, that even with out present mechanical knowledge of appliances, and with the light motors recently devised, men may hope to fly through the air. As a corrective to this hopeful proposition, Mr, Chanute says that he cannot see how flying-machines can ever carry light and valuable freight or passengers with the cheapness or regularity of railroads, or how they can ever be turned to account in attacking ships or fortifications in time or war.

". . . The two great problems, the starting and stopping, are far from being definitely solved. When a bird starts to fly it runs along the ground to gain momentum, and rises slowly by utilizing the wind as a lever at an angle; a pair of flapping wings would not easily raise an airship from the level of the earth; some device in the shape of a system of screws would be needed to lift it up to the point where the wings could come into play. Again, an airship would need to travel at the rate of from twenty

to forty miles an hour to maintain itself in the air. . . . When a bird wants to alight it spreads its wings so as to stop its headway, and tilts its body back so as to throw the center of gravity back of the wings. In this way its motion is very slow when it reaches the landing place. A successful airship would have to follow the example, and thus far no machinery has been invented which can neutralize the forward velocity, or impart to the mechanized flyer the equilibrium or equipoise which are required for safety.

"These views may be regarded as the last word in the modern science of aeronautics.

"The ancient science, of which John Wise was a professor, and which was going to enable us to travel from San Francisco to New York between lunch and dinner, may be said to have expired with Nadar, at the siege of Paris. The impossibility of directing balloons which were lifted by gas was fatal to their practical use . . . it was admitted on all hands twenty years ago that airships which owed their buoyancy to gas could never be anything but interesting toys. The age of the derigible balloon began with Krebs and Renard some ten years since, and marked step in advance was made when the latter

sailed against the wind in any desired direction at the rate of four miles an hour. What has since been learned on the subject is embodied in Mr. Chanute's book. . . ."

The following from the Call of April 16,1899, is typical of the editorial assurance of that time:

"WIRELESS TELEGRAPHY

"While to Italy, through the inventor Marconi, is due the credit of the introduction of a practical system of wireless telegraphy, and while Great Britain has had the honor of having first made an extensive use of it, there is a strong probability that the United States will be the first to take it up on a comprehensive scale and develop it into widespread utility.

"While the British Government after the success attained in the recent tests of the system has seemingly halted in the work, a number of experiments have been undertaken by private parties in this country with a degree of enthusiasm which gives promise of persistent enterprise in pushing the new invention into use for every purpose it can be made to serve.

"The experiments made in the United States have as yet added nothing of note to the Marconi systems. The vigor with which they are being

prosecuted is, however, an assurance that it will not be long before American mechanical ingenuity will devise some means of making wireless telegraphy of practical use in the daily affairs of life. We are the most skillful inventors of mechanical appliances in the world, and now that science has revealed to us a new method of using electrical energy, we may be sure our enterprise will not rest until we have made that method serviceable to the community and profitable to the promoters."

PART 6

MISCELLANY

"The time has come," the Walrus said,
"To talk of many things:
Of shoes--and ships--and sealing wax--
Of cabbages--and kings--"

-- Lewis Carroll --

--Through the Looking Glass

It is an unusual day in the editor's office when half a dozen editorials on as many unrelated subjects are not indited and sent to the composing room. When public issues are not too pressing and he has the inspiration, the editor may write on the subject nearest his heart, whether it be stamp collecting or theosophy.

A "must" editorial for pioneers of the San Francisco press was a voluntary declaration of aims and purposes, typified in the following from the second issue of Wide West, April 2, 1854.

> "Independent as it is of all classes save its subscribers, it will be untrameled by the advocacy of no special interests, however extended their influence in other quarters.
>
> "While it will neglect no courtesy due, its columns will never be prostituted by en-

deavors to bolster up pretentious mediocrity into the position only due to extraordinary merit, and while it will avoid all personal offensive remarks as beneath the dignity of a respectable newspaper, it will never be found shrinking from the expression of opinions to which utterance should be given."

A few years later, November 15, 1857, the same paper published the following:

"Some of our local items seem to be very potent in arousing the wrath of editors in the interior. The most recent and certainly excusable instance of the kind occurred when the account of the brutal beating of an old man in our streets was accomplished by a young fellow-man (sic) with more muscle than mercy, and less noble in his instincts than many animals classed among the baser beasts, fell under the eye of the editor of a Marysville paper, who forthwith "pitched in" as follows:

" 'We would like to see such a wretch as he put into a mortar and pounded with a pestle of a ton weight into powder, and after that, each perceptible particle of his contemptible dust, vitalized into immortality, with an infinite susceptibility to pain, and then roasted in

hell's hottest precinct for a million of ages! We would almost be willing to be the devil himself just to have charge of that scamp. Wouldn't we scorch him? We think we would.'"

The Bulletin rated self-respect higher than the flattery of royalty in the following of March 11, 1870:

"DICKENS AND VICTORIA

"The Queen of England has recognized Charles Dickens as a gentleman by inviting him to a personal interview. On previous occasions she had asked or commanded his attendance to read for the entertainment of her circle, and he declined to go as a showman where he was not welcome as a gentleman. Literature is honored in England, and the great writer is welcomed in every circle except that exclusive one where titles are the open sesame. Dickens respected his calling and his genius too much to consent to be patronized. There is a report that he will now be offered a baronetcy or a peerage. It is improbable he will accept either. Macauly gained no access of honor from his title and position as Lord, but he had some political ambition which it gratified. Plain Charles Dickens will be a name more illustrious in English annals than that of her proudest peer."

An English visitor inspired the following from the Chronicle, February 4, 1870:

"A SENSATION IN SHODDYDOM

"On the 29th ult. the codfish aristocracy of New York must have been in a state of fidgety felicity -- that is, of felicity slightly perturbed by what Coleridge poetically designates as:

Hopes and fears that kindle hope--
An indistinguishable throng;
And gentle wishes, long subdued--
Subdued, but cherished long."

The following description of San Francisco and its environs appeared in the Alta California, July 15, 1873. Even as propaganda for those "at the east", if such was the editorial motive, it shows that the city's natural beauty was appreciated.

"SAN FRANCISCO AND ITS SCENERY

"In many respects the appearance of San Francisco is decidedly unprepossessing to the strange visitor. It stands at the end of a peninsula, much of which is bare,rocky hill and loose sand. We must go twelve miles before we reach any large body of tillable soil. As seen from the deck of a vessel, entering the harbor

between July and November, the place looks like desolation and cheerlessness. The streets, the houses and the hills are brown, and only here and there, at long intervals, do we get a glimpse of a little garden.

"But after looking about for a week or two, the stranger gets better impressions. The lack of shade trees in the streets and gardens, and even in the public squares, is explained by the coolness of the summer climate and the general desire to get all possible sunshine on average July days. There is pleasure in thinking of a city to which, and not from which, you wish to flee in the dog-days. And then, as we go to the more fashionable residence streets, we find numerous elegant gardens, luxuriant in a vegetation that could not endure the winter of Washington and St. Louis. The delicate and beautiful European roses, the Pauline, the Graffay, the Agripinna, the Malmaision, the Perfection, the Saffano, and a hundred others; the geraniums, the fuchias, the floripondios, the heliotropes, the verbenas, laurustinus, and the Australian acecias,(sic) give beauty to our gardens not to be found in any of the larger Eastern American cities. The external archi-

tecture of our dwellings, too, is more graceful, the wooden material allowing a liberal use of ornament at little expense. Although the buildings on our main business streets are not so high as at the East, still in general appearance Montgomery and Kearny will compare favorably with the most fashionable streets of the Eastern cities generally, and can surpass anything outside of New York and Chicago.

"But to see the most attractive features of San Francisco, we must look not at the city herself, but at her surroundings and suburbs. In these we consider her unrivaled. She stands upon the shore of a magnificent bay, which attracted the admiration and the praise of every navigator who visited it, even before it obtained any commercial importance. The bay is skirted by fertile plains several miles wide, beyond which rise mountain ridges from two to three thousand feet high. A spur runs through the city, within ten minutes walk from the Merchants Exchange, and the city has various peaks three hundred feet high; and also within the city limits, but three miles from the city Hall, are the Mission Peaks, with an elevation

of eight hundred feet. Eight miles further south is Mt. San Bruno, twelve hundred feet high; fifteen miles to the northward, beyond the Golden Gate, is Tamalpais, twenty-six hundred feet high; thirty-five miles to the eastward Mount Diablo, three thousand, eight hundred and seventy-six feet high, and fifty miles to the southward Mount Hamilton, six hundred feet higher yet. These are the corner ornaments to the mountain framing of our landscape. Diablo and Tamalpais are very beautiful mountains, and the former is as high as Vesuvius.

"The bay has a fine contour and romantic shores. Goat Island, Angel Island, Seal Rock and Alcatraz add much to the landscape. The steep sides of the last and its position just inside the entrance, and near the middle of the channel, fit it admirably for the impregnable fortress of a great harbor. Its casemate and barbette batteries suggest defiance even to those who have no technical knowledge to assist them in understanding the full military value of the place. The Golden Gate is the impressive name of the strait, a mile wide, guarded on each side by high rocky bluffs,

leading it to the chain of bays, with an area of 350 square miles. It is appropriate, too, for, through it, have passed $100,000,000 to stimulate commerce and industry and to enrich the world.

"But six miles from our anchorage lies the Pacific, the vast ocean which covers more than a third of the surface of the globe, and is the open road to our commerce with four continents. Its name, too, is appropriate here, for it is never vexed by hurricanes or cyclones on this coast. Yet its surface is always grand, and the beach extending southward five miles from Point Lobos is unsurpassed in beauty, and the road to it past (after going through) Lone Mountain Cemetary (sic) and back by the Ocean House over the mountain, with a chance to look down on the city and bay, complete a round of scenery which no other city can surpass. The new park has a fine drive, and Woodward's Garden offers to visitors attractions not to be equalled in some important respects by the costly and extensive parks of the Eastern metropolis.

"Oakland, a suburb of San Francisco, a city of homes for our business men, is embowered in a grove of indigenous evergreen oaks,

and abounds with spacious gardens filled with the most luxuriant, varied and handsome vegetation that our genial climate will tolerate. We have seen many towns, renowned for beauty, but we have yet to see one that deserves to be placed alongside of Oakland. At Berkeley, a few miles distant, we find ourselves in the midst of a landscape attractive without help from art, and promising to be enchanting, after the landscape gardener and the architect shall have placed a few years of labor on it. In Hayes' Canyon, and Moroga Valley, east of Oakland, and at Saucelito, (sic) we find romantic nooks as wild in vegetation as if there were no city within a hundred miles. The variety and fullness of natural scenery, which people elsewhere must travel for weeks to see, we have here connected within a narrow space, which the land, the sea, and the sky have conspired to bless with peculiar favor."

On January 10, 1876, the Bulletin eulogized newspaper correspondents:

"HEROES OF THE PRESS

"Wherever there is fighting going on in these days, there in the front rank will be

found the writers of current history, taking notes. In the immediate vicinity of the gallant Custer lay the correspondent of the New York Herald and Bismark Tribune, stiff and stark, but untouched and unmutilated by the savage foe. . . . Turning to another page of war, we find that in one of the recent battles between the Turks and the Servians, Herr Walzer, the correspondent of the Vienna New Free Press was killed, and the correspondent of the Paris Temps and National wounded. It is worthy of note that these disasters, occurring to men of the Press pretty nearly at antipodal points, reached us almost simultaneously, and only a day or two after their occurrence.

"Of this heroic literature which seeks information for mankind in the very shock of battle, W. H. Russell of the London Times, may justly be regarded as the father.

". . . They do not hang around headquarters waiting for the reports which are there constantly arriving, but plunge fearlessly, notebook in hand, into the thickest of the fray. For these heroes of civilization there are but few rewards. Some other hand completes the picture which the slain had begun. If a tear

is dropped over the place where they lie, it is as much probably as they had a right to expect.

"And these perils are encountered that the world, as it sips its morning coffee, may have a chance to peruse full reports of all the important events which have transpired within a few hours on the globe. Lives are freely offered up for this gratification, where death is reaping its richest harvest.

". . . A failure is sure to call down the vengeance of the Caliph. If he is not sustained, the head rolls off into the basket. And to this end every possible method of communication is utilized. At the termini of the wires the heroes of the press, taking their lives into their hands, force themselves into every crowd; participate in every battle; explore unknown lands and turn up the buried treasures of antiquity."

On April 16, 1882, the Call commented on the attempted destruction of the Andre monument:

"THE FIELD-ANDRE MONUMENT

"It would be difficult to say which feeling has predominated, that of patriotism of malicious mischief, with those who have endeavored to destroy the Andre monument at Tappen, New

York. This memorial was erected by Cyrus W. Field, it is said, more out of respect to the wishes of the late Dean Stanley than on any other account. It was intended, as Mr. Field says, to mark the spot where Major Andre was hanged. There are those, however, who think that the monument is out of place. It was first defaced and afterwards an attempt made to blow it up with dynamite. Possibly the vindictive spirit is not cherished so much against the memory of Major Andre as against Benedict Arnold, who used him as an agent for the attempted betrayal of his country. There were spies in both the British and American armies during the Revolutionary War, and while both armies employed them, they were liable to the death penalty in each if detected. Major Andre was an estimable young man whose fate has drawn regrets from Americans as well as from Englishmen, but most Americans believe it would have been appropriate if a monument had been erected to commemorate the brave deed of Andre's capture."

Whether or not the following from the Alta California of March 21, 1873, was a true index of public sentiment will doubtlessly be forever problematic:

"Foster[1] will probably be hanged today. This may be hard on him but the community will not go into lamentations. Notwithstanding the numerous certificates hatched up in New York to prove his amiable character, there seems to be a general willingness on the part of the public that the nation should try to get along without his help. His sphere of usefulness may be greater in the world of spirits. Dix (the Governor -- Ed.) is a military man and has no invincible repugnance to the idea of shortening life in certain cases; and he seems to have made up his mind to let the law and the Courts take the responsibility so far as Foster is concerned. So long as hanging is not played out, we suspect that Foster will make a tolerably good subject to illustrate its value."

Two editorials from the Morning Call, April 12 and June 13, 1882, are of interest because of the persons considered:

"THE KILLING OF JESSE JAMES

"The Chicago Inter Ocean seems disposed to censure the manner of Jesse James' taking off.

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1. William Foster was convicted of the brutal murder of a fellow passenger during an altercation of a New York street car. Considerable pressure was brought to secure a change of verdict to life imprisonment. He was hanged March 22, 1873.

Ordinarily, the method would be indefensible, but the life of the desperado and assassin was long since forfeited to the State, in which for years his career has been marked by robbery and blood. Those whom he killed in mere wantonness are numbered by the score. For this reason a reward of $50,000 was offered in Missouri for his body, dead or alive. So many had met with death in the attempt to capture him that the undertaking was considered hazardous, so Ford took advantage of the opportunity when he was momentarily unarmed, to shoot him through the head. Sentimental sympathy for such a man is wasted. The entire region through which his depredations and deeds of blood were committed is filled with rejoicing that his career has been brought to an end . . ."

"THE THIRTIETH OF JUNE

"This is the day fixed upon for the execution of Guiteau. At last accounts he was anticipating his fate with considerable fortitude. There was a very general expectation that he might feign insanity with such method that the authorities would hesitate to execute the extreme penalty, and obtain from the President a commutation of the sentence. But the time is

past for any such simulation of insanity. If the condemned man breaks down now there will be no hesitation in attributing it to the panic which often preceeds execution. It has taken justice just a year to bring this man to the penalty the law pronounces upon his crime, but the work has been carefully done. No swift trial and prompt execution would have convinced the people of his moral and legal responsibility as the slow process of trial through which he has passed. A sure punishment in these cases is better than a swift one. The latter savors too much of vengeance. Deliberation, impartiality and fairness are the essential characteristics of criminal trials."

The following from the Examiner of April 22, 1883, illustrates the flowery rhetoric that went into obituaries:

"JACK HAYES

"The announcement of the death of Jack Hayes[1], famous for nearly half a century of heroic life, will strike like a funeral dirge in every home in the broad Southwest. The chivalrous will feel that Harry Percy's spur has at

1. Hayes, a colonel in the Texas Rangers under General Sam Houston, was first sheriff of San Francisco and U. S. Surveyor General under President Pierce.

last grown cold, and that a heart as warm as sunshine, as genial as May, has, like the flowers they mature, withered and dropped to decay. Old men will recall the legends of his life as replete in daring as were the deeds of Norman Barons or Paladins of the Middle Ages. Once his name was the synonym of all that was heroic, in a land where bravery was an instinct and gallantry a virtue. Inured to the hardships of frontier life from his birth, his fame was won upon the border.

"Every year of his life was a history. Its morning dawned in the perils of the wilderness. It fevered into noon in the wild conflicts which have made the earlier Texas annals the marvels of Western story. There was no foray so wild, no adventure so desperate that he did not dare to lead it. His name was a terror to the Indian tribes by whom he was regarded with a fear amounting to superstition. They said he bore a charmed life, and the same feeling was impressed upon his rough but heroic associates. They followed him with the unhesitating confidence with which the Mohammedan does the Crescent. Born to command, his life of peril and adventure illustrated the qualities

by which man masters men. Elsewhere in this issue is recorded the salient features of his remarkable career, the details of which would fill a volume. Here it is only meant to say that a life rugged and grand as the country his heroism and genius helped to develop, 'sunk with the sun.'"

A defense of Joaquin Miller from the attacks of scandalmongers is made in the following from the Alta California of January 19, 1886:

"JOAQUIN MILLER

"Is it precisely creditable to gird at Joaquin Miller, for fancied offenses, which, if true, have been frankly confessed and are shared by him in common with Franklin, Shelley and Lord Byron? But few men are of full measure, and genius is itself abnormal development. A rose is beautiful, but furnishes no food. A lily is substance to the eye, but shadow to the appetite. In many artistic respects Joaquin Miller is peerless in this literary age. Do we ask if Raphael were continent while he painted the Madonna or do we quench our raptures over the Taj Mahal in a cold-blooded curiosity to know if its architect were 'a good provider?'

"Mark Lemon forgot himself long enough to call Dickens 'a scoundrel,' but generations yet to be will take tenderly to their arms and hearts the image of Little Nell. Laurence Sterne was not always nice in his conduct, but Uncle Toby and the fly will teach mercy and kindliness while the world stands. Goldsmith might have been more careful of his debts and his morals, but there is no guile in the Vicar of Wakefield, that marvelous projection into narrative of the faithful inspiration in which David wrote the XXIII Psalm. Genius is not to be gambreled like a stuck pig and valued at a market price, nor to be judged in qualities common to all, but rather by those uncommon to all."

Was the following flowery space filler, from the Examiner of October 19, 1882, written with tongue in cheek?

"THE LIGHT IS DAWNING

"In a country so vast growing and great as that comprehended by the territory of the United States, with its fifty millions, now, and its one hundred millions within the next twenty-five years, disaster from exterior

forces is impossible. Stolid and blind with wealth and liberty, insanity and suicide can alone blot out our gigantic vitality and leave behind such a mournful and magnificent wreck of free institutions as the earth has never known before. Self engendered poisons, that are allowed to go on fermenting and increasing, are the causes that are to be constantly considered with suspicious vigilance by those who rightly value and love the grand institutions that have been established and bequeathed to us by the sacrifice, suffering and blood of a heroic ancestry. Liberty is a perilous possession. It is as difficult to keep as to acquire. A continued, honest warfare on the part of every citizen is absolutely necessary to the perpetuity of free institutions in their entire purity and with all their signal benefits. In this connection how wisely has it been said that 'the victories of peace exceed the triumphs of battle.' If we would continue to be free we should startle at the first note of alarm, as when from broken sleep we hear the burglar slipping the bolts of our homes. The Puritans founded the public schools to protect their children from the devil; for, they argued,

those who could read and write would be quite secure from the machinations of the evil one. Now, accepting the devil as the genius of wrong and misfortune, this is essentially true, and it is the reason why the people of the United States are so solicitous regarding the thoroughness and protection of the public schools. With a high grade of intelligence, each citizen will see at once any attack made on the liberty of the State, and, acting in quick unison, all will repel it as a tempest flies a feather.

"The very causes that have destroyed free governments in times gone by now threaten to destroy our Federal Government and that of some of the States formed under its protection. Long since a syndicate was formed by the party in power to maintain their hold on the offices of the Government, through the pure force of money; and Hubbel, the director of the great financial machine, calls upon the office-holders under the Government, great and small, to furnish their quota of money, wherewith to keep themselves in place by bribery, just as openly and unblushingly as the Gould and Curry Mining Company would call for an assessment. The gibbet would be too good for this fellow and all

his tribe. The language of these shameless dogs of treason is this; 'Ye army of a hundred thousand strong, give us money; and, by certain purchase of the people of the United States, your places are secure.' While industrious citizens are plying their calling to support their dependents, their wives and their children, Bosses, political contractors, corporation lawyers and a whole retinue of alcohol-saturated, blear-eyed, ignorant wretches, that neither appreciate themselves nor anybody else -- that would hiss down Plato at a primary -- are fermenting the elements that are to decide the destinies of this magnificent country.

"But the electric flash of a lighthouse greets the Ship of State in these dark waters, and, with joyous hearts, we see our mooring safe from the tempestuous sea. The people are superior to all wrong. Passion is dead. Prejudice is conquered. Redemption is near. 'Hallelujah! the Lord reigneth.' Patriots, Democrats, Republicans, everybody, three cheers and a tiger for Ohio."

The statement that politics and journalism can't be honest allies appeared in the Bulletin of September 21, 1883:

"The lesson which the fate of Greeley inculcated seems to be passing out of mind. Greeley had attained to the highest position of any journalist in America. Early in life he attached himself to a great moral question. . . . He held to it in evil report and good. He suffered all sorts of contumely for its sake. Throughout he had a sublime confidence in the triumph of the right. The only real question was whether he should live to see it. But he did live. No greater success could any man ever achieve. Logically therefore his place was in the chair which he had filled with such distinguished honor. Greeley dying in journalistic harness would have received an apotheosis. But he aspired to something else -- the Presidency of the United States. He was so intent in the pursuit that he became wholly indifferent to the means. Greeley, as the candidate of the Democracy, hardly purged of its rebellion, was the irony of history. The strain must have been terrific on the veteran journalist. He was leading the host of his former enemies. At his time in life such cross purposes could not fail to have had their effect. In the last stages of the conflict he fairly broke down.

"There is not any journalist in America who has attained to the position which Greeley once occupied. . . .

"One fact too, is often lost sight of -- the profession of journalism cannot be allied with politics. The two pursuits are wholly incompatible. There can no more be an honest alliance between the critic and the author than between journalism and politics. The one excludes the other. . . ."

The Examiner of March 2, 1884, had the following to say regarding an old form of punishment:

"THE WHIPPING POST

"It is perhaps impossible under our peculiar civilization to regard that relic of the Puritan law-giver which bares a man's back to the lash with any other sentiment than that of horror. Yet there are crimes more degrading to humanity than the scourge. . . . A few days since the Massachusetts Legislature passed a law giving to the lash the backs of men who beat their wives. It may be that flogging is not the only adequate punishment that can be devised for the brutal crime of wife-beating, but in communities where it has been tried it

> has proven an effectual deterrent . . . Massachusetts . . . holds that the whipping post, however degrading, is not more so than the crime which it is designed to punish. There are crimes, and wife-beating is one of them, which imprisonment does not atone. In some circles of society, perhaps, public sentiment would justify some sterner measures in cases of such exceptional brutality, but there is a palpable sense of justice in the law that requires the criminal to make public atonement for the crime he commits in private. . . . The penitentiary or the jail has no terrors for them, but they shrink with a coward's dread from the thong. . . . The whipping post for the wife whipper is not half so degrading as the crime it punishes."

The death of a mother-in-law, in which a house-cat was the lethal weapon, drew this from the Examiner of April 27, 1884:

"A STRANGE STORY

> "The genius of Wilkie Collins could scarcely have invented a stranger story than comes to us from the sunny wilds of Florida. It relates

to a murder case;not a homicide of shocking brutality but one in which extenuating circumstances enter with bewildering variety into the crime. . . .

"A man down in Florida had been convicted and hanged for killing his mother-in-law. The details are both peculiar and startling. The man had with his wife begun housekeeping in a small settlement near the Everglades, and the old lady had run down from the peanut wilds of Georgia . . . to see the baby through its first tooth and an occasional spell of colic. She never went back . . . Matters went on for a while as smoothly and as happily as heart could wish. But life is not entirely made up of sunshine, and finally a cloud arose in the domestic paradise. The old lady was inclined to glorify Georgia at the expense of Florida . . . it finally drifted into bad blood about the coffee. The son-in-law was accustomed to having his invigorating stimulant early, and he liked it black. His wife was always careful. . . . But when the little one fell ill the mother-in-law took the management, and from thence on the coffee was never what it should have been. . . . Finally, one morning there was neither coffee nor fire

in the stove, and a strong smell of strong whiskey emanated from the mother-in-law's person. The exasperated man could endure no more. His conversation became pyrotechnic and profane, and when the old lady observed incidentally that she did not care a continental either for him or his coffee, his rage burst all restraint, and picking up the family cat -- a large and heavy Thomas -- and swinging it by the hind legs, struck his aged relative under the burr of the ear and laid her out. The cat recovered but the woman died. The trial that followed was long and exciting. An abstract question of law intervened. The question arose: Was a Thomas cat in a swinging attitude a deadly weapon? If it was, then was the man guilty of murder; if not then the crime was involuntary homicide and the culprit should go free. The cat complicated the case; but the jury finally brought in a verdict of guilty and the man was hanged."

The following tribute is from the Bulletin of May 10, 1884:

"FOUNDED AND UNFOUNDED

"A few days ago the funeral of a man[1] was attended near this city who had done more for education in California than any other individual in the history of the State. He was not a millionaire, not even a rich man as the world counts wealth. He probably never had a hundred thousand dollars at his command at any time in his life. Yet he founded an institution of learning, gave to it the greater part of his fortune, and then put it in the hands of trustees for the benefit of the public. It is impossible to estimate the gift in dollars and cents. It is true that he asked the public to help him, and the response was, on the whole, liberal. Yet Mills Seminary was founded through the influence of one man who gave his name to the institution. That has become his moment . . . He unconsciously built his own monument . . . Money, in

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1. Cyrus Taggert Mills, missionary, educator and business man, was born in Paris, N.Y., in 1819, and settled in California in 1865. He acquired sixty acres five miles south of Oakland, where he erected Mills Seminary, 1871, a school for girls, now known as Mills College.

his view, was desirable as a means of doing good . . . When this man died and his will was published, it was seen that he had kept the faith. After making a moderate provision for his widow he turned over the remaining property to the trustees of the seminary.

Cyrus T. Mills was in a broad sense a founder . . . When such a man dies it is time to take some account of his work. It is time to forget his idiosyncrasies, the mere foibles and excrescences . . .

". . . What he did with his moderate means it would be possible for many another to do with the great fortunes which have been accumulated in this State . . . The founders live! Why should the memory of any man who has grand opportunities go into utter oblivion?

". . . In his way, Cyrus Mills, wrought as well as Cromwell. Both wrought according to the means which they could command. Men die, but institutions and the memory of their founders survive."

The fluctuating value of husbands is the subject in the following from the Examiner of October 2, 1884:

"A HUSBAND'S VALUE

"It is one of the most difficult things in the world to estimate the value of an unsalable article. It is equally impossible to put a price on domestic happiness . . . Not a great while since a jury in a neighboring State allowed a bereaved widow $19.50 for the loss of her husband by an accident originating in a defective boiler. On the other hand a grass widow in Omaha gets $2000 from a woman who robbed her of her husband's affection.

"Women themselves are by no means unanimous in the estimates they place on their marital appendages. Some ladies, judging by their treatment of him, hold the husband in the very slightest esteem. They snub him without mercy . . . But if, as sometimes happens, the unappreciated husband finds favor in another woman's eyes . . . if he abandon the hearth where he was counted for nothing, and is no longer at home even as a conjugal target, his value is suddenly enhanced . . . He then becomes a pearl of great price, and desolated womanhood rises like a Minerva springing from the land of Jove, ready to do battle with all the world for his possession. These remarks . . . are forcibly illustrated in the account which the Eastern papers

bring us of a suit brought by Mrs. Plumb (a luscious lady, no doubt) against Mrs. Wilson, a person of uncertain standing in society, whose arts and fascinations have beguiled the affections of the fickle Plumb. The market value of the inconstant Plumb is assessed at $250,000 -- Mrs. Wilson, his betrayer, it is alleged, being very rich and unscrupulous. It is clear to our mind, however, that this is a fancy price for a husband . . . In fact we discredit the supposition that Mrs. Plumb, while she retained the lost jewel of her affections in her possession, put any such value upon her fugitive treasure . . . If Plumb is really worth that money to his sorrowing wife, she ought to have it . . . Merely as an objective point at which moral observations and severe sentences could be addressed, he may have been invaluable. When spoken of as an incumbrance or an anxiety and held up as an example to other wives, a husband's worth is a good deal. But when another woman kidnaps his affection, his value is increased a hundred fold. Then she finds herself desolate, indeed. There is no longer an object present for the vials of her wrath to be poured upon -- tongue and temper are useless -- and all because of an auriferous widow. We think the man is cheap at $250,000 . . ."

The following suggestion appeared in the Alta California, January 10, 1886:

> "Major L'Enfant, the designer of the National Capital, who combined the qualities of topographical engineer and landscape gardener which produced the charming combination of streets and plazas, died long ago and sleeps in an unmarked grave. He who planned the circles to hold so many monuments for others, has none to mark his own dust. We mention the Major, not to gall Mr. McKenna, who objects to the way he laid off the city, but to suggest that Congress should give a few dollars to erect a simple shaft, cenotaph or tablet, in some place in the city, to perpetuate his name, and convey to visitors a bit of historical information no longer known to many, for there are few who tell off-hand the name of the man who worked out the plan of that beautiful city."

Items like this from the Alta California February 12, 1886 seem to interest editors and readers alike:

> "The ladies of New Jersey are on the war-path. They discover in the Code of that State, unrepealed, this law which dates to Colonial times:
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> "That all women of whatever age, rank, profession or degree, whether virgins, maids or

widows, who shall after this Act impose upon, seduce or betray into matrimony any of his Majesty's subjects by virtue of scents, cosmetics, washes, paints, artificial teeth, false hair or high-heeled shoes, shall incur the penalty of the law now in force against witchcraft and like misdemeanors."

An honest deed is applauded and a dishonest one criticized by the Alta California of March 27, 1890:

"The President has removed from the Chicago Pension Agency the widow of the gallant Colonel Mulligan, who was appointed by Cleveland. Her brother was killed and her husband was mortally wounded in the battle of Lexington. The clerks in the office were mainly the widows of good soldiers, who were rearing families left them to support. She is succeeded by a military politician, who announces that the women in the office will have to go, as he desires to make the pension agency a political factor in Illinois politics. All right, Cleveland did not try to make it a factor in politics. He remembered the non-voting widow, whose husband gave his life for his country. Of course, from the machine standpoint, he was wrong, but what right heart in the country does not approve him?"

A philosophic discussion of murder occupied the attention of the editor of the Morning Call, February 26, 1893:

"SENTIMENTAL MURDER

"The attempt on Mr. Mackay's life will revive the discussion on the philosophy of murder. No difficulty is presented in considering a case of a man who kills his enemy . . . But where a man kills another who has done him no wrong, and whose death will confer no benefit, the case presents complex features. The King of Uganda shoots a slave to try a new gun. The King of Dahomey decapitates a courtier to celebrate a holiday . . . Such murders are purposeless. We go a step further. Ravaillac plunges a knife into Henry the Fourth; Giteau shoots Garfield in the back. In these cases a motive is discernible, though it is obscured by clouded perceptions . . .

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1. John William Mackay (1831-1902) was born in Dublin, came to New York when a boy and to California in 1851; went to Nevada the following year, where he engaged in mining; and eventually became two-fifths owner of the Comstock Lode. In 1884 he formed the Commercial Cable and Postal Telegraph companies, with James Gordon Bennett as an associate; laid the Atlantic Cable despite many difficulties, chief of which was the enmity of Jay Gould, a rival operator.

"The man who shot Mr. Mackay, was one of a class of persons who made money in mining speculations, lost it and was reduced to poverty. He could not forgive the bonanza king for having succeeded where he had failed, and he took vengeance on him by shooting him in the back. Was he insane? Undoubtedly, to the extent that every one who commits a purposeless crime is insane. But was he insane enough not to be held responsible for his act. Undoubtedly not, for crooked as his reasoning was, its working showed that he could reason . . . The capacity to discern right from wrong . . . does not exact sound reasoning . . . but if there is any reasoning at all, the author of the crime must pay the penalty.

"Almost every one is insane on some point or other . . . A man who is ahead of those who surround him is often pronounced insane. With the most perfect honesty the priests of the Inquisition pronounced Galileo insane for declaring that the world moved, and the medical faculty called Harvey insane for proclaiming the circulation of the blood.

"There are a good many poor men who were once prosperous, but who lost everything, including the capacity to earn a living, in the

maelstrom of mining speculation. As these persons walk our streets they encounter every day wealthy survivors of the mining wreck in broadcloth and fine linen. That the spectacle may often rouse envy goes without saying . . . Poor Rippey has settled his account with society;but the opera bomb thrower only got a few months."

The psychology of nocturnal fear is discussed in the Chronicle, August 7, 1893:

"WHEN MEN ARE AFRAID

"Chris Evans, the Fresno outlaw, who ought to be an authority on the subject, declares that men are most subject to the emotion of fear between 1 o'clock in the morning and daybreak. As he puts it, there comes a period in every night when it begins to grow towards morning, but when daylight is yet a long way off, during which period every man is a coward. He shrinks from all sorts of imaginary evils, and the same man who would have fought desperately before midnight will be very likely to turn and run in that darkest hour which is just before the dawn.

"If this be so, there must be some natural and physical reason for it, and there are certainly some well-known facts which appear to bear out the theory. Sick persons . . . are apt

to be worse in the latter part of the night, and the belief that death occurs then more frequently than at any other time is certainly general. . .

"But we need not go into any mortuary statistics for evidence on the question of universal demoralization and lack of physical and will power at, say 3 o'clock in the morning, which seems to be about the lowest time of the ebb tide. Any one who has ever got out of bed at that time, either from choice or necessity, knows very well the feeling of goneness which comes over one and the serious doubt which arises as to whether life is really worth living. Is it that the system has really run down during the night or that the feeling of depression and demoralization is merely subjective, caused by the surroundings, and the unfamiliar look which well-known objects assume?

". . . Shakespeare knew almost everything that anybody ever knew, but if he wanted to make the yawning of the churchyards and the appearance of ghostly figures the most dreadful thing imaginable he should have made the witching time at night 3 o'clock in the morning instead of midnight. In this matter Chris Evans is better authority than Shakespeare."

Conviction in Mexico of an American woman, on the charge of murder brought a demand for action from the Examiner, June 25, 1899:

"A CASE FOR PROMPT ACTION

"'Oh, my countrymen, can you not do something to save me from this living death?' is the cry that comes to the American people from a woman imprisoned in a foul Mexican jail.

"It is a cry to rouse the manhood of the country, and the story that lies behind it is one to claim the sympathy of every American. The facts as set forth in the letters . . . leave no doubt that a grave injustice has been done an American woman in a foreign land. The facts in brief are that Mrs. Evalyne Collier, while living near Ures, was assailed by a Mexican rough, who broke into her cabin, and in defense of her honor she shot the brute. According to the account she gives of the occurrance the killing was accidental, the man being shot while both were struggling for possession of a revolver that lay on a table. The Mexican court . . . convicted her and inflicted a sentence of four years in jail, and she is confined in foul quarters . . .

"Here is a case that demands the interference of the United States Government. Mrs. Collier was perfectly justified in defending herself, even by shooting her assailant to death and the court ought to have acquitted her. As the rural tribunal inflicted that unjust sentence, there should be an appeal to the Mexican Government to right the wrong that has been done.

"The Administration should appeal at once to President Diaz with the strongest representations that it can make. President Diaz is a just man and his friendship for the people of the United States has been manifested on many occasions. He will not hear the cry of this injured woman in the ordinary course of procedure through the Mexican courts of justice, but he will hear and pay attention if the American Government speaks.

"The woman may be poor and friendless, but she is an American citizen, and if she has been unjustly treated, she has 75,000,000 of people with her. Let the Administration see that the wrong is repaired and the woman who defended herself from evil is freed from the Mexican jail."